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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2184

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GROWING CRIME RATE CAUSES CONCERN

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 22 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Candidate of Juridical Sciences Lt Col Todor Predov, deputy chief of Criminal Administration of People's Militia Directorate: "Checking Comprehensive, Universal"]

[Text] Summer and Recognized Criminals Moving in Their Distinctive "Vicious Circle"

Main Thing Wrong is Organizational Difficulties and Weaknesses in Enforcement of Article 39 of NM [People's Militia] Law

Uncompromising Campaign against Vagrancy, Idleness and Amoral Behavior of Recidivists

The vacation and tourist season has arrived. Preparation for it is already over. What is being performed now are the missions underlying the plans, broken down into operations with time limits and personnel assigned to execute them. Experience in this regard is great. And if we dwell on this question again, it is because of its exceptional importance.

The habitual criminality in the country in recent years alarms us. Most recidivists despite the concern shown over them in their places of imprisonment and after their release therefrom do not cease to commit crimes, relying on their enhanced "qualifications," the invention of improved modes of operation and covering up their tracks. They ignore the efforts of the centers of educational work and advice on prevention that endeavor to help them and, counting on some weaknesses and oversights in the operations of the law-enforcement agencies--above all of the People's Militia, commit new crimes. Eventually they end up again before the examining magistrate, the public prosecutor and the court, only to go back to prison and repeat the distinctive "vicious circle" of the recidivists.

Naturally the question arises: Why is this so and what is lacking? What should be done in this area? There is no doubt that the main thing wrong is organizational difficulties and weaknesses in the activity of the supervisory and executant personnel of the NM units. What is needed for successful work with recidivists is the strictest observance of the provisions of the

Instructions for working with them, as well as various circulars and directives sent to the units by the DNM [People's Militia Directorate] heads, by the Criminal Administration and UOOR [expansion unknown; possibly an administration (Upravlenie) dealing with recidivists (Retsidivisti)]. Here we must emphasize that it is mainly for these reasons that many criminal offenders are at liberty. It is a disquieting fact that some of them are perpetrators of audacious and grave murders, robberies, rapes and burglaries of personal and public property.

Owing to the reduced checking on recidivists during the past year the campaign against vagrancy deteriorated. This is indicated by the criminal offenses they committed in the territory of other okrugs. In 1982 alone, 23 persons were arrested in Varna and 48 in Burgas. Most of them were residents of Sofia city and okrug, of Yambol, Turgovishte, Tolbukhin, Shumen, Ruse, Khaskovo. . . This year the criminal activity of the recidivists continued, and more especially in vacation areas: Khristo Nikolov Avdisiev of Khaskovo, convicted six times, was the perpetrator in March of seven burglaries in Rurgas Okrug; Georgi Metodiev Kotev of Kyustendil, convicted twice, committed two frauds at Slunchev Bryag; Rumen P. Rachev of the village of Dyankovo (Razgrad Okrug), convicted twice, committed a robbery in Varna; Mustafa A. Mekhmedov of the village of Byala Reka (Shumen Okrug), recidivist, committed frauds, thefts and robberies in Varna. . .

It can definitely be said that recidivists have not been fully circumvented by the introduction of the preventive administrative measures under article 39 of the ZNM [Law on People's Militia], combined with reliable checking on their observance. And this is important, especially now that article 272 of the NK [Criminal Code] has been amended enabling the court to impose penalties when restrictive measures of administrative compulsion are not observed.

During the vacation season there is an increase in the cases of desertion of soldiers serving their normal period of compulsory military service, as well as of persons placed in TVU's [expansion unknown; possibly trudovo-vuzpitatelni uchilishta, educational labor schools] and dormitories. Therefore the improvement of coordination between NM authorities and the command of military units or the heads of schools respectively is necessitated with special force. Information about deserters must be received promptly and a search for them organized jointly. This has both the purely preventive effect of precluding crimes and also an educational effect--on the one hand, on the perpetrators and, on the other, on the people in their surroundings.

In recent years there has also been noted a significant burgeoning of recidivists from among Bulgarian citizens of gypsy origin, many of whom have their own MPS's [motorno prevozno sredstvo; motor vehicle], drive them personally or entrust them to relatives or friends, hiring them as drivers. They usually engage in peddling and illegal trading, the transfer of foreign exchange, and the buying and selling of effects and goods outside the regulated procedures. Activity which is contrary to the prescriptive enactments and MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] documents, but militia authorities do not always react to it promptly and to the letter. Sometimes the measures that are taken are not sufficiently efficacious and strict, while various lapses are conducive to a

comeback of activities liquidated in the past such as a vagrant existence in gypsy camps, training bears and monkeys to dance etc., which are combined with the commission of crimes and the avoidance of socially useful labor. All NM units must wage uncompromising war against behavior of this kind.

At tourist spots during the summer season many places show up that are vulnerable to criminal encroachments, beginning with little personal effects on the beaches and ending with hotel rooms, parks, parking lots etc. Attacks are made on tourists with the object of robbing and raping them; their MPS's are made off with illegally; belongings and parts are stolen from them etc. Year after year work is done to improve the admission-screening system at hotels, motels and camp sites and to guard and illuminate parking lots, alleys, gardens and parks, but the results are still not satisfactory despite the orders and fine initiatives originating from Bulgarian and foreign favorable experience. The heads of okrug and rayon MVR administrations respectively, together with the heads of "Balkaninturist," must urgently, energetically and constructively solve the problems of admission-screening of the lower floors of hotels and the protection of beaches and parking lots.

A serious barrier to recidivist criminality is timely information from territorial units to units in the vacation areas where recidivists have gone for recreation, on excursions or for the purpose of committing crimes. A strict passport system and control, on the other hand, will be instrumental in their prompt apprehension and punishment and, if grounds exist, in their return to the places where they live. Passport services must coordinate their work with hotels, housing offices, and house managers and passport registrars. In this connection an important place must also be given to the duty units that every day check persons without papers and drunk and disorderly persons. They counter minors without means and all kinds of other suspicious persons. It is on their speed and resourcefulness in establishing a personal identity and the true motives for acts that are committed, on their familiarity with the day-to-day situation and association of the changes that occur with the actions and personality of the persons they bring in that the thwarting and detection of the latter in the places where they live depend to an exceptional extent. A significant place and role in this regard fall also to alcoholism-treatment centers and to homes for the temporary accommodation of juveniles and minors, as well as homes for adults.

The system of social prevention must be used to a greater extent and with greater effect at the place of residence, with the active staff members of the centers for educational work and advice on prevention employed more directly and with preventive and educational influence brought to bear on the recidivists referred to them. Recidivists must have impressed on them the necessity of observing the laws and the restrictive measures introduced in accordance with article 38, as well as compliance with the warnings in accordance with article 12 of the Law on the People's Militia. More purposeful work on the part of sponsors and patrons is necessary in order to correct their behavior in a positive direction.

Cleanup operations in the interior of the country and in the vacation areas are yielding good results in the campaign against vagrancy, idleness and the amoral

behavior of recidivists. They must continue during the vacation season as well, with so-called thematic operations being thoroughly organized, into which all the forces and resources of the NM agencies, of the state agencies and public organizations must be thrown. Only thus can a reliable barrier be constructed against the schemes and operations of recidivists, and their vagrancy and the criminal offenses they commit be restricted.

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CSO: 2200/108



## BRIEFS

PRC ENSEMBLE—Prague, 19 Jul—The Prague pantomime ensemble of the Theater on the Ballustrade, led by National Artist Ladislav Fialka, recently returned from a successful tour of the PRC. These days we are hosting the Chinese Song and Dance Ensemble from Shanghai, which consists of the musicians and singers of the Shanghai Orchestra of National Music and of young dancers from the Shanghai Opera. The ensemble presented itself to the Prague audience this Tuesday on the stage of the S. K. Neumann Theater. Within the framework of the Prague Cultural Summer, its opening night showed examples of the rich and colorful folklore of its country, and also contemporary works based on the national and popular traditions. Among others, the performance was attended by Li Tingquan, PRC ambassador to the CSSR. The Prague audience received the performance of the Chinese dancers, singers and musicians with interest, and appreciated their remarkable artistic feats. Following the Prague performance, the Chinese ensemble will play to audiences in Karlovy Vary, Frantiskovy Lazne, Brno, Bratislava, Piestany and Presov. [Text] [AU210805 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jul 83 p 2]

CSO: 2400/391

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LETTER TO HONECKER CRITICIZES REGIME STANCE ON PACIFISTS

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in Germn 1 Jul 83 p 7

/Text of unsigned letter allegedly written by SED veterans and former Nazi concentration camps inmates: "'...There Isn't Much Time Left!'"

/Text/ The following letter has been passed to us by West Berlin members of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime. It originated in the GDR and was written by a group of SED verterans. To protect them from reprisals, the writers have requested anonymity.

To Comrade Honecker:

For quite some time now, we older comrades, party veterans and former Nazi time internees like yourself, Comrade Honecker, have been preoccupied with a number of political decisions of the GDR party and state leadership. We note with concern that through them, or as a result of them, the dilemma of our policy which also existed in the past becomes newly visible. Our own experience does reach back to the 1930's, when as a result of the wrong tactics based on communist arrogance we were incapable of achieving united action against Hitler. The consequences are well known. We went to penitentiaries and concentration camps. World War II devoured 55 million people. The division of Germany, the cold war and the atomic threat to mankind are the sad result. We know from our own painful experience about the importance of a proper alliance policy--so crucial in life--and of a sober assessment of the situation.

After your talk with Hans-Jochen Vogel on the Werbellin Lake, the media on both sides engaged in high praise. Hopes were aroused, and speculations engaged in. This is understandable in light of the atomic inferno being proclaimed quite openly by certain callous politicians on the other side of the ocean. We value the fact that you keep appealing to prudence and reason and recalling the words of our revered Comrade Wilhelm Pieck that "never again must a war be started on German soil."

Germany is not the world, however, and in reply to the war hysteria of the U.S. President the Soviet Government too is now talking of the need to station medium-range missiles in the GDR, Poland and the CSSR.

We therefore ask you, Comrade Honecker, what you are going to do if the situation worsens (at this time it does not appear as if Mr Reagan and his circles plan to complete the dangerous game of "Apocalypse of the World") and the GDR along with the Federal Republic and all of central Europe are prepared as a fully automatic electronically guided battlefield, forcing the people on both sides to live in daily or even hourly fear of a nuclear countdown. Are you going to continue in your own camp as well to appeal emphatically for reason and to oppose anyone who is playing with fire and thus could trigger disaster?

The people in our time are preoccupied with a terrible truth: more and more to deter means to perish for sure!

It appears that a point has been reached where the fear of the horror has lost its effect among the rulers. Would-be atomic strategists are already having sophisticated computer games figure out for them the changes of a first strike and a limited but winnable atomic war in Europe.

No wonder that fewer and fewer people trust the voice of diplomats, governments and military blocs and that it is being realized that fundamentally there exists only one last big chance to preserve the precious vital elixir of peace--a world-embracing community of all people sincerely desirous of ending the armament mania. We communists should understand this above all and draw the proper conclusions from it.

At the Ninth Writers Congress, Stephan Hermlin portrayed the powerful peace movement as a movement encompassing all classes, races, religions and parties "which anyone can join."

We ask: Can he really do so in the GDR? Can he do so as a Christian, pacifist or even as a socialist critically thinking for himself? Above all, can he introduce there too his own opinion and his own experience? Why, as happened in Jena, are young pacifists deprived of their citizenship in the GDR and expelled to the West?

If this should set a precedent, pacifist clubs will have to be founded in our republic for a chance to leave the GDR soon. Jail and expulsion, however, cannot be the alternative for a critical supporter of peace. How many cases like those of Biermann, Fuchs, Winkler, Jahn and comrades are there still to occur here? All reactionary obscurantists in our history have failed with this ridiculous device of expulsion. Under no circumstances must socialists now continue this bad tradition. "Out with the pacifists" is an even more stupid, but at the same time more dangerous, policy than the slogan of a so-called fascism 50 years ago. The consequences would be disastrous and would boomerang on us. Christians, pacifists, social democrats and all people considering independent thought and a critical view of the world to be an elementary prerequisite of their social activity must not be subjected to any restriction, persecution or expulsion. Call a halt, Comrade Honecker, in order that we may not again run the risk, just as in the proximity of the Nazis before 1933, of now being connected with Messrs Strauss, Zimmermann, Woerner and Geissler.

When at long last will the party and state leadership understand that such a policy wastes our strongest pawn--the political sympathy, support and also readiness to defend peace on the part of millions of people in the capitalist West? Anyone who, like us socialists, really views peace as the supreme good of mankind must also be able to prove this credibly to the great majority of all people. Only in this way is it possible to push the real enemy, that minority of warmongers and war profiteers, into the defensive and to create a foundation of peace which also secures socialism. We therefore call for a turnaround, Comrade Honecker; there is little time left.

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CSO: 2300/322



REGIME STANCE TO ENVIRONMENTALISTS, PACIFISTS SEEN HARDENING

Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 5 Jul 83 p 5

/Unattributed article datelined 'Berlin (epd)': "GDR's Own Lack of Peace  
Condemned--East Berlin Peace Workshop: The Everyday Reality Contradicts the  
Official Pronouncements"/

/Text/ As has already been reported briefly, more than 3,000 predominantly young people took part in a "peace workshop" on the grounds of the Church of the Savior parish intended for the exchange of information between church peace groups and for discussion about the possibilities and aims of ecclesiastical work for peace in the GDR. The gathering, to which an invitation had been issued by the Berlin-Brandenburg Church and the East Berlin Urban Youth Pastorate, was held under the slogan "Plant Peace!" In posters, photos and placards bearing inscriptions and pictures, as well as talks, the participants repeatedly lent expression to their concern about the atomic armament race and the stationing of new intermediate-range atomic missiles in West Europe planned by NATO. However, there was also repeated mention of peace being endangered by the increasing militarization of large sectors of GDR society.

The "peace workshop," the second one to be held, was participated in by numerous church peace groups from East Berlin but also by guests from the western part of the city and from the Federal Republic. In a discussion, criticism was also leveled at Western reporting of the church peace initiatives in the GDR.

Disciplining Condemned

During a forum, several speakers pointed to the gap between the peace declarations of the SED leadership toward the outside and a lack of pacifism within GDR society. Concerning this, the head of the Protestant Academy in Magdeburg, Hans Tschiche, said: "It is unacceptable for peace being called for in foreign policy while a climate of fear and of disciplining is created in domestic policy." The regional secretary of the Christian Peace Conference in the GDR, Carl Ordnung, countered by saying that, in his opinion, the GDR definitely was peaceable as far as domestic policy was concerned. To this the audience reacted with vociferous protests recalling, among other things, the state action against conscientious objectors and against persons wearing "Swords Into Plowshares" patches. Another example cited was the case of a member of the Medical Faculty of Halle University who had stated in a lecture that since enough money had been spent on armament it was time for patients to receive expensive medical equipment, upon which he had lost his teaching post.

GDR writer Rolf Schneider stated during the forum that it is not a sign of pacifism "if young people were pestered because they wear "Swords Into Plowshares" patches, if conscientious objectors have to take a back seat in professional training and if late conscientious objectors even are prosecuted according to military law." He could regard this only as proof of a lack of pacifism in domestic affairs which also deprived the external pacifism of credibility in every respect. According to Schneider, who expressly professed to be an atheist, the Sermon on the Mount could only lead to "radical pacifism."

#### Western Churches Criticized

During the event, criticism was also voiced against the sister churches in the Federal Republic which had stated in their peace memorandum of 1981 that it was "still possible" for Christians to insure peace in freedom by means of atomic weapons. This position, it was stated, in contrast with Reformed peace theses, made clear the kind of "political entanglement" which occasionally could still be encountered even among the GDR churches.

During the inaugural service in the morning, East Berlin General Superintendent Guenter Krusche had advocated an open discussion about peace also in GDR society. He said that Christians today had to profess a no without any qualification concerning weapons of mass annihilation. While this could not be politically implemented with a single step, a beginning had to be made.

#### Stricter Stance of the Authorities

In the GDR, the authorities, according to Western observers, for some time have been proceeding more and more vigorously against presumed oppositionists. This had also been so in the case of the arrest of Youth Deacon Lothar Rochau of Halle, announced at the East Berlin "peace workshop." According to AP, Rochau was arrested together with four other persons at a protest action against pollution of the environment by the chemical Buna Works in Halle. He had, however, been relieved earlier from his post of deacon of the Halle-Neustadt Pastorate by the Protestant church office responsible for Halle--reportedly because of his activity in "public youth work" not within the church.

Observers cited various reasons for the hardening of the stance of the GDR authorities. One was that, in light of possible military countermeasures by the Warsaw Pact in the event that new U.S. intermediate-range missiles were stationed in Western Europe, the authorities wanted to nip in the bud any possible protests in their own country. Another reason cited was the known increase in applications for leaving the GDR since last fall. Observers believe that, if only because a completely different set of priorities, the GDR does not have the same opportunity as the Soviet Union to simply expel presumed oppositionists. The exiling of the independent Jena peace group had to be regarded as an exception.

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CSO: 2300/329

**MORE INDEPENDENCE FOR LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ADVOCATED**

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Jul 83 pp 3-9

[Interview with Tibor Baranyai, chief of the Party and Mass Organizations Department of the Central Committee, by PARTELET staff; date and place not given]

[Text] At its 12 April session the Central Committee devoted great attention to problems regarding the party, its internal life and composition, its leading role and guiding activity. It proceeds from the point of view that "the party, the leading force of our society, has a determining role in our progress"; and "in the execution of the resolutions of the 12th Congress, party life has developed, Leninist norms are being implemented and the party organizations have performed successful work." At the same time the Central Committee critically and self-critically revealed the weak points of party work and demanded the improvement of the work. Considering all these things, we request in advance your answers to the following questions.

[Question] In the period since the 12th Congress how has party organization and composition developed, and what are the major political lessons related thereto?

[Baranyai] On the basis of our experiences, our starting point can only be that on the one hand the composition and development of the party's membership is the standard and result of all our political activity, and on the other hand everything also reacts on it. The results of party-building work can truly be measured with the development of party work as a whole, but the figures by themselves also tell us a great deal.

At present party membership exceeds 852,000 members, and it has increased by about 40,000 persons since the 12th Congress. Of the adult population, 10.7 percent are party members. This state of organization assures the party's political influence in every important area and makes it possible for every class and sub-class of society to be represented in the party. The membership development is primarily the consequence of and growth in the party's reputation, and the strengthening of its mass influence, but it must also be perceived that this did not in every case accompany increasing requirements. Therefore I must now emphasize that in accordance with the resolution of the 12th Congress the primary goal continues to be the qualitative development of the party's composition.

The social composition of the party has not changed considerably in the past 3 years. The ratios of the individual social classes and sub-classes within the party are in harmony with their social and political importance. Of the members who have been accepted since the 12th Congress, 50.7 percent are workers, 8.9 percent are coop peasants, 27.9 are intellectual workers and among these 60 percent are youth and 35.4 percent are women. We welcome the fact that the political, professional and general level of education in the membership has increased. Also, there has been an increase in the number of ratio of women.

We cannot be satisfied with the development of the ratio of young people and workers within the party. We must substantially improve political work among the youth, and we must extend ourselves more consistently in increasing party membership among suitable workers.

As I see it, the main problem of party-building work at present is that new entries from among the youth are not adequate. Of those between the ages of 18 and 29 years, 4.6 percent are party members. In the past 8 years the number of ratio of young people in the party have declined. This is a result of the fact that for years the party organizations have been accepting few young people, particularly in the case of those under the age of 26 years. This is true of all youth sub-classes: the workers and peasant youth, the young intellectuals and students. This is an impermissible situation, for youth is the natural source of the recruitment, and we are speaking here of nothing less than the future of the party.

What are main reasons for this? The most important one is that, despite our efforts, our political work among the youth is still not adequate, and the influence of the party of KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] is insufficient. It is a warning signal that even the politically active youth know little about the party, and their knowledge is inadequate and often mistaken. In the search for socialist ideals, illusions are often fostered, and certain local leaders make generalizations in an unfounded way from some negative experiences and the bad example of party members. The party organizations and KISZ (and let us add, other state and social institutions for educating the youth) are not always successful in presenting youth with a realistic picture of socialism and the party. It is also a fact that given the problems that accompany the start of a career, the establishing of a family and the acquisition of a house, public and social activities are forced into the background in the case of many young people. We must also speak self-critically of the fact that frequently a lack of confidence in the party organizations prevents the acceptance of the best youth. It happens that "in general" youth are regarded as inexperienced and not mature enough for party membership."

Membership work among the youth requires that we should regard youth education not only as the task of KISZ but as a direct political task of the party. They can come to know the party better if the basic organizations maintain direct ties with the youth, keep them regularly informed, request their views and require their active participation in solving the society-building tasks of the workshop and the wider environment. The party



organizations and the communists must recognize the actual problems of the youth and help them as much as possible in their solution. All this does not mean of course taking over the tasks of KISZ, but rather helping it to be more successful. We also need in the future a greater number of young party members with political work inside of KISZ. Education for party membership requires among youth a more coordinated and substantive activity from both the party and KISZ organization. I repeat with emphasis that the foundation of this work must be better political work among the youth, an increase in party political influence and a great activization of the young.

We must also work for the continuity of education for party membership in order that in the case of changes naturally affecting the young (school, workplace, military, gyms [child care benefits] and so forth) it will be necessary over many years to prove suitability again and again for acceptance.

The ratio of workers within the party remains for us a continuing basic political question, and their presence in the party continues to be determining. In respect to their original occupation, workers make up two-thirds of the party membership and, according to their present occupation, about 43 percent, most of whom work in large factories. It is good that their ratio in the politically and occupationally trained subclasses is greatest between the skilled workers and the direct production managers. The workers basis of the party is at present assured.

At the same time it signals a warning that the ratio of workers within the party, even if to a slight extent, is continually declining. Even among newly accepted party members, workers are fewer than we intended.

The causes for this are manifold, and they need to be fundamentally analyzed. Undoubtedly the structural changes in society play a role, for example, the fact that the number of workers within industry and large factories is declining nationwide. In medium and small factories and in services, the conditions of party building are still less favorable. On the basis of our experiences, however, the real cause is to be found in the weakness of political activity by the party organizations, and by their style of work. At its latest meeting, the Central Committee also pointed out that party life in some places is not sufficiently attractive, certain party organizations are not adequately open to nonparty citizens and in many instances the party members' personal example is wanting.

How can we change this? Above all, with better and more effective political work, which purposefully increases the interest of the workers in public life and their activities. With open political work and with the development of a substantive, effervescent movement in the basic organizations.

The party is generally made more attractive in the eyes of workers and nonparty citizens if by joining they are assured a more meaningful area of action, increased participation possibilities in discussing the deciding

local and national questions that occupy their interests--if we assure work forms and means in the party groups where the specific improvement of the situation of a given sub-branch, factory and worker sub-class is the focus of attention.

As for the acceptance of intellectuals as party members, an improvement is already perceptible, but to a small extent. Frequently the party organizations do not conduct adequate political work among the intellectuals, and they are not drawn effectively into the preparation of local political and institutional decisions. The debates conducted at local forums are often inconclusive, and the questions that are raised there remain unchanged. The corrections of these faults and the strengthening of party acceptance work are necessary in certain groups of highly qualified intellectuals, among the most talented students at universities and colleges and among those who are starting on a career.

I want to emphasize again that in the interest of a qualitative development in party composition and improvement in educational work for membership, an expression of effort is not an end in itself. In its wake the entire party is strengthened, and even in a more difficult situation the party becomes more suitable for its leading role, its calling and the fulfillment of its role in serving the people.

[Question] From the viewpoint of a consistent implementation of the party's political guidance role, a great deal depends on how the relationship and work ties between the party organizations and the local organs of the mass organizations develop. In this respect what kind of experiences can we tell of? To what extent is the effort being realized that every organ should perform its own work, fulfilling thereby its designed mission?

[Baranyai] In the course of the past 25 years of work and effort in our party this question has been clarified in principle, and our practical results have also been significant in this area. The realization of this recognition in life is a very important source for the operation of our whole party work and the political system of socialism. And still if we look at the experiences more profoundly we must self-critically state that the picture is rather mixed, and many Communists still do not know or understand the essence of the question. It is well known that by the leading role of the party we mean political guidance. We measure its realization by the extent to which the political positions of the party organizations express locally as well the demands of development, and to what extent they are followed in the various social and administrative organizations and institutions, and not least of all in the social actions of the masses. Most of our party organizations adhere to this outlook and develop an ideological and constructive working relationship with the local organs of the mass organizations, respect their independence and give incentive to their mission and operation. In some places, however, we also find another and contrary kind of outlook and practice. A guidance which intervenes in small matters with the life of the mass organizations and tries to prescribe specifically what must be done and when it must

be done is intolerable and harmful. We must oppose it not only because it violates our principles but also because it weakens the effectiveness of our work and in final analysis does not lead to results.

In searching for the causes of this we can find a failure to understand the essence of political work and a lack of preparation. Lack of confidence harms our joint affairs greatly, and prestige attitudes also play a role. It happens at such times that certain party organizations raise questions for themselves where a decision and a concrete position would be more appropriate to a trade union or other organ. Frequently and superflously they demand that they should make the decisions and resolutions in detailed questions, bonus and interest protection matters which belong to the party's competency. They are not aware that with this they narrow and limit party guidance, for agreement expressed in detailed questions is accompanied by the fact that the party organization strips itself of realizing the political consequences and the possibilities of criticism. Party organizations are not the ones that should decide who receives how much in wages, bonuses and so forth but must judge and achieve while seeing to it that those who are competent in these matters carry out their work in the spirit of the party's policies and its ideological positions. The party organizations should devote greater attention to a study of the general and political-type trends in concrete matters and to helping politically in the work of certain organizations.

They should give genuine help to the mass organizations by working out political positions that reflect local relations and tasks. These may serve as appropriate guidelines for carrying out concrete and characteristic tasks. The Communists working in the mass organizations expect from the party organizations good sub-class political concepts and other policies affecting the main areas of local activity. An outlook of narrow horizons, and the incorrect political guidance that stems from it, are well illustrated by the debate which was conducted not long ago regarding the role of the party group stewards and the trade union stewards when the two were improperly placed in confrontation. There were those who failed to perceive how false the confrontation was with such minute measurement of spheres of authority. According to our party's political goals, the role of both the party group stewards and the trade union stewards is increasing, and we want to keep on increasing it because both are very important in the mission of fulfilling characteristic, independent profile functions. We must understand this as well as the fact that if the trade union stewards want to carry out their work successfully on the basis of good ideological work, its greater reputation and sphere of authority will in the final analysis also strengthen the influence of the party and its leading role. Of course, a great deal depends on the party organizations in promoting and providing incentive to this end.

It is worth drawing attention to the fact that certain party organizations are still taking on themselves a great deal of work and occupying themselves with detailed problems which they could confidently entrust to other state and social organs. They would then have more time and energy for politically approaching more important tasks and broader, persuasive organization work among the masses.



[Question] A frequent subject of conversation nowadays is the relationship between the guiding party organs and the basic organizations. There are many who object to the excessive level of organizations, the fine tuning of party life at the expense of effective work, which gives rise to formalism and bureaucratism. What is your opinion of this?

[Baranyai] This is a matter of great theoretical importance. I would like to emphasize that when it is said that since the party congress the party has been organizationally strengthened, we are not only thinking of party-building work and membership acceptance. We are emphasizing, above all, the realization of democratic centralism, which is a determining, organizing principle in the relationship between the guiding party organs and the basic organization, and assures the organizational conditions for a unified interpretation of policy and its practical execution. It is an essential means for the realization of the political goals of democratic centralism, and without it we cannot speak of party unity or party discipline. This is why we strengthen and defend it in the organizational life of the party, in its operational order and in the relationship system which has developed within the party. We have very valuable results, and now we regard as decisive how effectively these serve the solution of political tasks: the mediation of the experiences of the masses, their synthesis, the more precise formulation of social interests, consciousness and the organization of the practical execution of political decisions.

At present this is the concept that prevails in the mutual relationship of the party organs and the basic organizations, and in most of them they respect the sphere of authority and the independence of local organs. The recognition is becoming more and more widely accepted that the greater independence of the party organizations is an objective necessity deriving from the general conditions of political work and conditions characteristic of today's circumstances. The greater independence of the enterprises, the economic organs and the institutions must also be expressed meaningfully in political work. Greater independence must be assured to the basic party organizations because only in this way can party work be more specific and we can avoid falling into the error of abstract generalities and resorting to the voicing of empty slogans.

I emphasize that nothing can replace the immediate experiences of the party organizations. They are the ones that can realistically judge to what extent the trade activity being conducted in a given area is in harmony with the party's policy. They are the ones who feel most directly how the local economic production activity affects human relations and how an active understanding can be created with it. For effective political work it is essential to take into careful account and evaluate all the local factors which no one can perform in place of the party organizations. By taking all these things into account, the guiding party organs must give incentive to and help in the more independent and responsible work of the basic organizations. We should not take their place, but by respecting their independence we should cooperate with them, teach them how to work out their political tasks and organize party work in a practical way.



I regard as erroneous the concept that would reduce the role of the basic organizations exclusively to "execution" and would refer the right of making political-type decisions exclusively to the authority of the guiding organs. It is the most responsible task of the basic organizations to take a daily position, to decide and make determination on daily tasks in the spirit of the resolutions made by the higher party organizations. With their initiatives and proposals they should help make the work of the guiding organs more effective. It is only in this way that proper execution, continuous implementation and the activity of the workers can be assured.

Given the present, more difficult conditions, I believe that the essence of properly interpreted guidance work is to be found in the fact that every party organization should concentrate its attention on the solution of decisive political tasks and be capable of getting hold of and working out tasks on the spot, whether these are economic or ideological.

I believe that criticism regarding excessive organization and fine tuning is not without foundation. We have spoken of this self-critically during Central Committee sessions and the evaluation of the work of our department. We have already taken many central measures, but frankly they have been too little. What are we speaking of?

It happens that we may put too many tasks on the basic organizations from above and prescribe too much in regard to what they should put on the agenda, what kind of programs they should organize and so forth. There are still too many conferences, reports, statements and written materials in general. We must frankly say that this does not help make local political work successful and ties down energies. It diverts attention from the more important things to permit appropriate attention to be devoted to local conditions, and by building on this independently develop their political tasks. Without this, however, there is no effective work.

Although we have spoken of the phenomena many times, the change is still not adequate. The subject cannot be removed from the agenda. The guiding party organs must again and again improve their work self-critically and with greater consistency and also develop, simplify and change their working methods.

[Question] The April resolution of the Central Committee includes important statements and tasks regarding the party's cadre work. In this regard, what timely and practical tasks fall on the guiding organs and the basic organizations?

[Baranyai] In its most recent resolution the Central Committee devoted particular and special attention to the tasks of cadre work. It emphasized the requirement that "it is essential to more effective party guidance that cadre work everywhere should be the special task of the party organizations." Above all, we must bear in mind that in more difficult situations--where it seems that we are still getting more and more involved--the role of the cadres is particularly important. In every area, a great

deal depends on the leaders; their competence, bold initiatives, responsible risk taking, broad horizons and their always renewed ability are an imperative necessity and a great countering factor under narrow material conditions.

It is today a realistic and mature demand that every organ of the party should deal more and better with cadre problems. We must strengthen with greater political confidence the leaders who work well and meet today's higher requirements. Let us extend more resolute incentive and help where uncertainty is perceptible. Let us initiate exchanges where the requirements demand.

It is well known that recently measures of great importance have been taken to develop the democratization of cadre and personnel work and to strengthen its efficiency. The competitive application system and appointments for a limited period of time have gained wider use. For these measures to redeem the hopes that they have awakened, the party organizations must see to it everywhere that these do not remain merely empty formalities.

It is also necessary to devote more attention to the needs of cadre work inside the party. The greater tensions of our times subject the officeholders of the party and the party workers to more difficult tests in human and political stamina and leadership capability. In such a situation, the weaknesses become more evident from every point of view, whether it be a problem related to training, preparation, human character or moral behavior. The requirements of Communist behavior and morality always have great weight in the case of officeholders, but particularly so at the present. The party organs should perform the tasks that are related to this with greater circumspection and resolution, and many undesirable phenomena can be prevented with continuous supervision, party help and prior warnings.

We must remember that soon we will step into a period when the election of party officeholders will again be on the agenda. We must consider who best meet the political tasks and the timely requirements of party work. Well-considered recruitment plans will give us the possibility of preparing candidates with high-level training and practical assignments, and with this we can solve with the least difficulty the necessary changes. This year the Central Committee will put on the agenda and review the tasks of cadre work in order that we may make greater progress in this important area.

In conclusion, I call the attention of the party organizations to the fact that also through the summer and autumn we need to continue making the April 1983 resolution of the Central Committee known and to mobilize the party membership and workers. With knowledge of the central goals and in possession of the authority received from the basic-organization membership meetings, let us assure a unified stance by the party organizations in implementing this year's political, economic and ideological tasks. With a constant and responsible improvement in our own work, let us everywhere be in the vanguard of overcoming the difficulties and realizing the tasks of socialist building.

POZNAN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Poznan Province Party Statistics

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 16 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Statistical information on the state of the party province organization. Summer vacation for children and young people. Preparations for recruitment for studies.

A session of the Province Committee Executive of the PZPR was held in Poznan on Friday.

The executive familiarized itself with statistical information on the state of the province party organization. A number of recommendations relating to internal party work, ones aimed at further consolidation and strengthening of the ranks of the party in the province, were adopted.

In connection with the second item, the executive familiarized itself with preparations for the summer vacation campaign for children and young people of Poznan Province in 1983. The preparations and the progress of the summer campaign in the province are directed in their entirety by the Province Coordinating Group headed by the deputy governor of Poznan. Similar staffs for summer campaign affairs are being established in the towns and communes of the province. The Province Coordinating Group has adopted a graphic schedule of organizational and program activities insuring preparation for recreation for children and young people in the province. It is assumed that the 1983 summer vacation campaign will affect about 100,000 children and young people, 7 to 8 percent more than in 1982. The chief organizers of the summer campaign will be industrial plants, educational units, the Polish Scout Union, Rural Youth Union, Society of Children's Friends, and Volunteer Labor Brigades. A special feature of activities this year will be excursions to the GDR. This form of vacation activity will involve 2415 persons from Poznan Province.

In connection with the next item on the agenda, the executive familiarized itself with information on the status of preparations for recruitment for intramural studies. Schools will begin the 1983-1984 academic year under conditions and on principles similar to those which obtained last year. The

basic criterion determining acceptance for studies will be the results of an entrance examination expressed in terms of qualification points. In addition to the points received as a result of the entrance examination, a candidate will be awarded additional points for working class or peasant origin, 2 years of gainfully employed work at a socialized enterprise prior to submitting an application for enrollment, a rating of at least "good" in the secondary school certificate in the examination subjects for the particular course of studies, and completion of the mandatory military service.

A total of about 4400 students will begin the first year of intramural studies at Poznan schools in the new academic year. This is around 200 fewer than during the previous year. This is due to cancellation or reduction of recruitment for certain study courses and specialties, something which in turn is a consequence of analysis of the network of higher schools in the country made by the central authorities. As a result of this analysis, during the current year there is to be no recruitment for library science and scientific information at Adam Mickiewicz University, mechanization of agriculture at the Agricultural Academy, fundamental problems of technology, organization, and administration in industry, materials engineering, and machine tools and technological equipment at Poznan Polytechnic Institute.

#### Economic Problems

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 18 May 83 p 1

[Article by A. L.]

[Text] Last Monday the first secretary of the Province Committee of the PZPR in Poznan, Edward Lukasik, paid a memorable visit to Kornik. During his visit he met with personnel of the PZPR Municipal and Commune Committee, where he was informed of the current sociopolitical problems arising in the commune. E. Lukasik also met with the town and commune mayor, who acquainted him with the status of supply of basic foodstuffs and industrial foods for the population, as well as with the most urgent problems of the community.

Lukasik then visited personnel of the Kornik Library. The director of the library, Docent Jerzy Wislocki, informed his guest of the collections of the library of worldwide interest, and the scientific work associated with these collections, and also of new publishing ventures and initiatives publicizing the valuable collections.

At the end of his stay, Lukasik visited the PGR Kornik Combine, where he acquainted himself with the social conditions of workers and their families as well as with workshops, the status of field work, and production structures.

A day earlier Lukasik had been in the town and commune of Srem. Here he visited the municipalities and communes of the PZPR, where he was informed by the secretaries of the problems of party work at the commune level. He then went to the HCP Iron Foundry. At the Cegielski branch he met the



secretaries of the local PZPR plant committee and the plant management. During his visit Lukasik displayed lively interest in resolving production difficulties and in provision of social services for personnel (cafeteria, swimming pool, gymnasium), and also held direct discussions with workers to determine their day to day situation.

#### Poznan Plenum on Economic Reform

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Miroslaw Idziorek and Maciej Lastowiecki]

[Text] A plenary session of the PZPR Province Committee was held in Poznan yesterday. At the meeting a detailed, thorough evaluation was made of the extent of utilization of the production potential of enterprises and discussion was devoted to actions designed to lead to more perceptible improvement in deliveries of goods to the market.

"Often in taking up the subject of economic reform in the recent past the party has expressed concern for the promptest possible resolution of the crisis, insuring efficiency of management, and improvement in the living conditions of the workers," asserted Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee in Poznan in opening the session over which he presided. Stanislaw Kalkus, a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, participated in the session.

The report by the PZPR Province Committee Executive depicting the extent of utilization of the production potential of the province (and also pointing out deficiencies and obstacles) and defining the tasks for the PZPR organization in consistent support of all actions aimed at increasing the efficiency of management was presented by PZPR Province Committee Secretary Bronislaw Steplowski. The main tasks in this field were set forth in the documents of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, in the resolutions of the Eighth and Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee, and were then stated concretely in the resolutions of Province Committee plenary sessions. The most important tasks should be considered as including increase in production, braking of inflationary pressure, and gradual restoration of market balance. The economic reform needs initiative and real, rather than merely apparent, action. The report states, among other things, that over the last year or so the province party organization has undertaken many actions aimed at creating sociopolitical conditions which contribute toward attainment of economic goals. "Taught by the experience of the past," said B. Steplowski, "we are highly cautious and critical in evaluating the results achieved; we do not want to, and cannot, overrate them. It would be an error, however, to disregard them. In many spheres of the economic life of the province a slow but perceptible improvement is taking place, and there is a permanent trend toward increase in production. Gradual improvement is also to be observed in supply and operation of the market." While noting

the favorable phenomena arousing our hopes, the report states, we must always persistently and consistently concentrate our attention and determination to act on the problems which have not been solved in keeping with the expectations of society and on the courses of actions the results of which in the past we are critical of. The weak points include the still too low a level of activity on the part of many party organizations, especially in small workplaces, inadequate lowering of costs, high material intensity of production, insufficient introduction of technical progress, and inadequate utilization of worktime.

Simultaneous achievement of two aims, leading the country out of the crisis together with introduction of an integrated economic reform, is impossible without integration of the broadest possible strata of society around them. One of the important forms of this integration is regular and consistent implementation of the concept of worker self-management. Thus far around 300 worker self-management units have been established in Poznan Province, in particular in all large workplaces. The renascent trade union movement is a sign of strengthening of socialist democracy and sociopolitical stabilization in the workplace. Up to the present trade unions having a total of 78,000 members have been established in 636 enterprises in Poznan Province.

It will be necessary to exert considerable effort in restoring proper economic relations, and above all it will be necessary to try to reduce the discrepancy between the rate of the growth of wages and increase in labor productivity. Wages in industry rose 37.4 percent, and labor productivity 17.1 percent, from January to May 1983 in Poznan Province. Checking this unfavorable tendency, and thus making increase in wages depend unequivocally on increase in labor productivity, is one of the most important tasks of economic policy. Careful management of production forces and means is of enormous importance in recovering from the crisis. It should be pointed out here that the party organizations and authorities have provided the inspiration for elaboration of conservation programs in workplaces. The report of the executive stresses that, if we want to make the best possible use of production potential, we must steadfastly try to change many firmly rooted irrational views, attitudes, and habits. On the other hand, we must cultivate and promote characteristics and attitudes with outstanding social values, ones such as resourcefulness, initiative, and energetic action.

The next person to speak was the deputy governor, Stanislaw Piotrowicz, who characterized the current situation in the economy of the province and gave an account of the actions undertaken by the administrative authorities. The goal of these measures is utilization of all production capacities in existence in the province. This purpose was served, among other things, by the analysis of production potential utilization made by the administrative authorities. Efforts to limit the number of rejects occurring in the production process must be stressed in the conversation programs currently being elaborated. In view of the scarcity of resources, losses resulting from poor product quality meet with especially great disapproval on the part of society. Increase in production is also often impeded by a shortage of manpower. Current demographic projections raise no hopes for the

possibility of increasing the number of employees in the sphere of material production in the province. Hence we must content ourselves with the available manpower reserves in industry and construction and make an intensive search for methods of more effective manpower utilization. The conservation and anti-inflation program recently drawn up for Poznan Province contains detailed tasks for individual fields, including construction, public utilities and housing, and agriculture.

Fifteen speakers participated in the discussion. Thought was devoted to what should be done to permit full utilization of existing production reserves in the shortest possible time. It was established that the road to this goal leads through rational management of manpower reserves, improvement in labor discipline, increase in labor productivity, and reduction of the material intensity of production, a situation which will be fostered by the conservation programs drawn up in the enterprises and application of appropriate incentive systems linking increase in wages to increase in labor productivity. Mention was also made of the need for improving economic knowledge to insure proper understanding of the principles of the reform and economic life in the country.

It was stressed in the discussion that at the present time no economic phenomenon may be considered in isolation from the problems related to the economic reform. It must be realized, however, that the reform merely creates conditions for rational action. Hence in the last analysis the success of the reform, that is, emergence of the country from its crisis, will be decided by knowledge, skills, commitment, and dependable discharge of one's obligations. Thus the reform requires commitment on the part of society at large, of all forces of the party, as well as comprehensive changes in human awareness and certain modifications in detailed solutions. For example Jerzy Kasprzak, director of the Polanex Plant in Gniezno, stated that the result of application of the principles of setting controlled prices is that enterprises whose production is costly, and thus inefficient, are nevertheless living quite well and that personnel are not feeling keenly enough the results of lowering production costs. He said that certain regulations governing the reform should be more stable and not have changes made in them so frequently as is currently the case.

The efficiency initiatives, and thus better utilization of production potential, will also be fostered by the tight money policy. Not all enterprises fully realize, however, that the times of easy access to cash have passed. This is proved by the fact that they allocate too little of their own funds for the development of plants. Boleslaw Drogomirecki, director of the Province Branch of the National Bank of Poland, gave the example of an enterprise which assigned only 0.5 million zlotys to the development fund in 1982 out of a profit of 700 million zlotys. This procedure has nothing to do with reform. Another speaker stated that 35 percent of the plants have not spent a single zloty for technological process. This causes decapitalization of fixed assets.

Much discussion was also devoted to conservation programs. For example, Andrzej Komosinski, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the HCP

Plant, stated that in 1985 the output of the plant will have increased by 23 percent in comparison to 1984. In addition, the conservation program calls for a labor productivity growth of 8.6 percent annually and a 3 percent reduction in the labor intensity and 2.5 percent reduction in the energy intensity of production.

Attention was also called to the fact that the broad range of social entitlement has contributed to decline in employment. At the Gniezno tannery, 700 women are taking educational furloughs. A similar situation prevails at other plants. Criticism was made of the effectiveness of certain temporary solutions mandatorily adopted in the reform. It was stated that certain specific principles should be put into practice more rapidly. This applies among other things to narrowing the range of regulation of raw and intermediate materials and to reduction of the number of goods with regulated prices which authorize high production costs. It was also stated that many enterprises are failing to utilize the potential afforded by the reform. This applies also to the principles of remuneration for work. In the opinion of the director of the Pelkom-Telettra Works, Yan Kolodzieczak, reorganization of the center which is to direct enterprises exclusively by means of economic parameters should be speeded up.

Franciszek Kubiczek, deputy director of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee, also took part in the discussion. He stated that the 3-year plan has been designed in such a way that the entire increase in production must be accomplished through increase in labor productivity and substantial reduction in the material intensity of production. At the same time, the enterprises which have elaborated 3-year plans are indeed proposing more intensive production than that called for by the national socioeconomic plan for the years from 1983 to 1985, but in exchange are demanding increase in raw and intermediate materials and are projecting increase in employment and investments. Hence these plans must be modified.

In evaluating the economic situation of the country, he stressed that positive trends predominate in it, although there are many negative phenomena. To be included among them are primarily the deepening inflation and lack of market equilibrium. In Poznan Province the average wages in February 1983 amounted in industry to 11,571 zlotys, and in May 14,318 zlotys. Hence elaboration of incentive systems linking increase in labor productivity to wages is an urgent task. Enterprises have worked out many such solutions which should be universally applied. However, there are also enterprises at which the incentive system is not doing its job.

At the end of the proceedings the plenum adopted a resolution the text of which is given here separately.

Resolution of the Plenum of the PZPR Province Committee in Poznan on  
Utilization of the Production Potential of Poznan Province

1. The PZPR Province Committee in Poznan accepts the reports of the Province Committee Executive and of the governor of Poznan presented at the Plenum and adopts the recommendations deriving from them for further political and



administrative action. The Province Committee acknowledges intensive activity on behalf of implementation of the economic programs to be one of the most important political tasks incumbent upon party authorities and organizations and all members of the party. The Province Committee accepts the previous trends and methods of party work in the sphere of the economy, but recommends that particular attention be paid to consistency in implementation of the resolutions adopted at previous plenary sessions of the PZPR Province Committee on 28 April 1982 and 10 December 1982, and at the session of the Province Committee Executive on 9 October 1982. It assigns to the Socioeconomic Department of the Province Committee the task of making a thorough evaluation of implementation of these resolutions by the first level authorities and Plant Committees of large plants and of submitting its recommendations to the Province Committee Executive.

2. The Province Committee acknowledges that real possibilities exist of raising the level of utilization of production potential and of elevating the general level of management efficiency. A fundamental requirement for attainment of this goal is consistency in the sphere of introduction of the principles of the economic reform and universal application into enterprise activities of the new methods of action fostering intensive utilization of creative factors. The Province Committee recognizes skill in approaching and effectively solving these problems to be a basic criterion for evaluation of the attitudes and activities of party members, including in particular the management cadres of enterprises, state administration, and economic institutions. It assigns party authorities and organizations the task of always making such evaluations at sessions of the executives and Plant Committees.

3. The Province Committee declares itself to be in favor of consistent introduction of the specific economic reform model adopted by decisions of the Ninth Party Congress. Hence it recognizes one of the important directions of party action to be thorough evaluation of the effectiveness of operation of the system designs introduced for the transitional period and indication of the indispensable and socially-desirable directions of changes in this area. It assigns to the Province Committee Economic Commission and to the Socioeconomic Department of the Province Committee the task of transmitting the findings of the executive's report and of today's discussion to the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee, the Government Agency for Economic Reform, and the Province Parliamentary Group.

4. The Province Committee acknowledges the main tasks in the sphere of better utilization of the production potential of the province to be appreciable lowering of production costs, reduction of the material intensity of production, rational utilization of manpower reserves, and insuring innovativeness in the economy. The Province Committee finds that changes are taking place too slowly in this sphere. The tasks assigned in this area by the eighth and tenth plenum of the Central Committee have not been fully carried out. In this connection the Province Committee assigns to the Party authorities and organizations the task of again assessing the situation in this area and of taking the necessary political action. In particular, it

recommends routine political monitoring of the implementation of plant conservation programs and of introduction of plant incentive systems.

5. The Province Committee recommends that the executive evaluate the situation in the area of introduction of technical and economic progress and practical utilization of scientific research potential. The Province Committee believes that one of the plenary sessions of the Province Committee in the near future should be devoted to these topics.

6. The Province Committee expresses criticism of the situation of Poznan Province as regards housing construction and housing repair services. It assigns to the Province Committee Executive the task of again analyzing political and administrative action taken in this area. It recommends that the party authorities and organizations active in construction, public utilities, and state administration take action to insure consistent execution of initiatives in the area of better utilization of the production potential of construction enterprises, economical utilization of intermediate and raw materials, and improvement in the organization of work.

7. The Province Committee, taking note of the neglect in the area of economic knowledge on the part of society which has persisted over a period of many years, assigns to all party cells the task of exerting particular effort to broaden and intensify economic education as a fundamental element of the program of the party training system. Constant publicizing of economic topics and improvement in the contents and forms of publications in the mass communication media are also recommended. The Province Committee also calls attention to the necessity of publicizing models of good work and economical management, of publicizing creatively active people, the creators of technical and economic progress.

8. Further possibilities of improving utilization of production potential and of constantly increasing the efficiency of the economy depend on many economic and sociopolitical factors. One of the fundamental requirements for achieving these goals is integration of party members and all workers into the process of solving the problems of implementing economic programs. The PZPR Province Committee in Poznan calls upon all inhabitants of our province, workers, peasants, engineers, economists, the worker self-management activists of trade unions and social organizations, to take active part in solving the difficult economic problems of our province.

PZPR Province Committee in Poznan

Poznan, 8 June 1983.

Poznan Province Secretary

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8 Jun 83 p 3

[Interview with Dr Bronislaw Steplowski, first secretary, Poznan PZPR Province Committee, by Maciej Lastowiecki]

[Text] Improvement in management efficiency is one of the fundamental and most current and urgent socio-economic problems of our country. The chief talks in this sphere were stated in the documents of the Ninth Congress of the party, and in the resolutions of the eighth and tenth plenums of the Central Committee of the PZPR. The province party echelon in Poznan has also devoted much attention to economic matters, in the belief that they represent an essential factor in stabilization of the sociopolitical life of the country. This topic will also be dealt with at today's plenary session of the PZPR Province Committee in Poznan, at which discussion will be devoted to problems relating to utilization of the production potential of the province. In this connection we requested an interview with the PZPR Province Committee secretary, Dr Bronsilaw Steplowski.

[Question] What is the main goal of the plenum?

[Answer] At the plenum we intend to make an analysis of the current economic situation of the province, evaluate the efficiency of our nations in the past, and indicate the problems which must be solved during the forthcoming period. The present plenum was preceded by meetings of the basic and plant party organization and by numerous consultations and encounters by socioeconomic activists of Poznan workplaces. Such an encounter recently took place with the participants in the Poznan delegation to the national conference of worker activists in Warsaw, which we regard as a permanent form of contact between the province party echelon and worker activists. The purpose of such encounters to maintain constant contact with the workplace and to avail ourselves of the experience and wisdom of the working class.

The action taken to insure implementation of the party resolutions and the efforts of the working class and all workers have resulted in appreciable improvement in many sectors of the economic life of our province. We note a permanent trend toward increase in production, evidence of which is the fact that in the course of four months in 1983 socialized industry sold 13.8 percent more goods than in 1982. A similar phenomenon occurred throughout the national economy. As a result, the functioning of the market is gradually returning to normal and there is movement away from the system of regulation. The queues in front of shops have also become shorter. We want to perpetuate these trends.

[Question] It is precisely utilization of production potential which is one of the requirements for increase in production and thus better supply of the public. How is this potential being utilized, and what steps are being taken to activate economic processes?

[Answer] There is significant and relatively up to date potential in our province. We also have a large number of highly-skilled and experienced

cadres. This creates real possibilities for considerable increase in production. However, as a result of the disproportions arising in the structure of the economy, the economic restrictions imposed by certain western countries, and accordingly the restrictions and difficulties in procurement of raw and intermediate materials, the potential is utilized only to the extent of 60 to 80 percent.

In assessing the situation of enterprises I may say that the chief obstacle to full utilization of production capacities is currently employment. Employment declined in 1981 and 1982, especially on the second and third shifts. In 1983 nearly 8,000 persons are needed in key industries in Poznan Province to bring employment up to the standard level. The question then arises of how to solve this problem.

I should like to stress at this juncture that no economic phenomenon can be considered in isolation from the problems associated with the economic reform, which we want to be consistent in introducing. It must be realized, however, that the reform merely creates the conditions for rational action. Hence the reform requires commitment on the part of all party forces and society at large, comprehensive changes in human awareness, and essential changes in methods of action. I would hazard the statement that the factor to determine whether we will manage to increase the efficiency of our economy is the level of activity of personnel in enterprises. On them will largely depend rational utilization of manpower reserves, increase in production, reduction of the material intensity of the economy, and thereby better utilization of the existing production potential. Steps in this direction aid the anti-inflation and conservation programs.

[Question] How much is the economic reform contributing to improvement in efficiency of management and what steps has the province party organization taken to reach the economic goals?

[Answer] In accordance with the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress, our task is to formulate social goals, mark out the directions of development of the economic life of the country, create political conditions favoring attainment of these goals, and to exercise control functions. We have no intention, on the other hand, of interfering in economic management processes. The state and economic administration bears responsibility for this.

The political activities of the province party echelon in the sphere of economics have been concentrated on the following problems: Proper introduction of the economic reform, elevation of the level of economic knowledge, among other things through the mass communication media, integration of social and union circles into the process of solving management problems, initiation of steps aimed at improvement in economic efficiency in enterprises, and inspiration of actions favoring institution of worker self-management elements.

The results include, among other things, pronounced increase in the significance of economic problems in the workplace, a certain improvement in the



level of economic awareness of society, and the initiation of positive trends in the area of management efficiency. The worker personnel of enterprises have more material interest than in the past in the results of operation of their own enterprises. This means that, despite many difficulties, the principles of the reform have become reality.

It must be remembered, however, that the reform is being introduced in an extremely complex political and economic situation. As a result, a potential threat exists to correct and consistent introduction of the target model of operation of the economy. Criticism must also be leveled at the effectiveness of operation of certain provisional solutions. The most important ones include the system of supply of materials, certain price setting principles, and the system of financing and stimulating technical progress.

Some enterprises exploit their monopoly position on the market to obtain profits not due them, and in many elements of the economy steps of an inflationary nature are being taken: a tendency to raise prices while substantial progress has not been made in the area of lowering manufacturing costs. In this connection the attention of party organizations must be concentrated on pointing out these threats and the direction of changes which are desirable from the viewpoint of the actual needs of the economy.

[Question] One of the most essential factors on which utilization of production potential depends is employment and the raw materials barrier. Some people are of the opinion that the shortage of workers employed directly in production is only apparent. Is this due, among other things, to low labor productivity and an improper incentive system?

[Answer] In the past the development of the economy has been extensive in nature. It has occurred chiefly through increase in employment and investments. We do not now have such options. There is consequently the problem of mobilizing the intensive factors of production on the basis of increase in labor productivity, technical and organizational progress, and reduction of the material intensity of production. In short, it is a question of insuring that our actions are characterized by a more innovative approach.

This potential is being created to an increasing extent by the reform. However, many enterprises fail to utilize the potential available in the new economic system. This is also true of the principles of remuneration, which must stimulate increase in labor productivity so that good work will be rewarded with good pay. Hence our political actions are aimed at full introduction of the principles of the reform, implementation of the anti-inflation and conservation programs, and integration of society into the process of attainment of these important social goals.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

6115

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Development of Supraplant Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 28-29 May 83 p 1

[Article by ( jag )]

[Text] (Our Own Information) The actual situation in the union movement in the country and the possibilities of formation of supraplant structures as well as the participation of social groups in that movement were the problems which Stanislaw Gabrielski, the director of the Central Committee's Social-Trade Union Department, presented at the Friday meeting to trade union activists of Lublin and Leczna (from the mines of Lublin Coal Basin, Mining Works Enterprises and Transport and Mining Construction Service Enterprise). At the meeting in Lublin and Leczna, the trade union members discusses the matters connected with the growth of trade union organizations. The participants of the meeting were interested mainly in the possibilities of formation of supraplant union organizations which would assemble unionists of the same line of business. So far two such structures were developed: steel miners and farmers.

In the afternoon hours, Stanislaw Gabrielski met Wieslaw Skrzydla, the first secretary of the PZPR Executive Committee in Lublin.

Trade Unions on Administrative Decisions

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 May 83 pp 1, 5

[Article by Krzysztof Potrzebnicki, in RZECZPOSPOLITA [May 24]: "Principles of the System of Consultation. Trade Unions About Decisions of the Administration"]

[Text] The right to evaluate the decisions of the administration on various levels is counted among the most important prerogatives of the unions. And that is how they were treated in the bill about trade unions accepted in the fall of last year. Let us remind: in Article 21 it was stated that "...Trade unions have the right to evaluate the principles or drafts of legal acts and decisions referring to rights and interests of working people and their families and that includes the living conditions of retired persons and those on pension."

## Measure of Trustworthiness

The legislator confirmed the great role of union consultations. This is in agreement with the opinion of majority of working people. They believe that consultations are a tool for the union which assures a real influence on the decisions of the administration and on government moves. But not only that. The founders of new union organizations quote examples characteristic and typical for many plants: workers who do not yet belong to unions say: "We will see what you will be able to achieve, whether anybody will ask for your opinion as to how to arrange this or that matter and even if they ask, will your answer be taken into consideration? The right to consultation becomes in the public opinion, and alliance of trust of new unions, an indicator in what degree the authorities see in them a partner that counts." By this the guaranteed effectiveness of the right to consultation becomes *sensu stricto* a political problem.

It is possible to look at this problem still in a more general sense and to treat the system of asking for an opinion as a mechanism of social discussion which gives a very concrete possibility for a dialogue of authorities with the society. At the same time the system of consultations must fulfill one more condition: it cannot block the administration's decision, cannot limit its actions. When functioning well and ably, it must at the same time reflect not only the voices which approve the moves of the authorities but also such evaluations and propositions which criticize it, point to its weaknesses and inconsistencies.

Not only unionists realized the need to put quickly into motion the mechanism of consultations. The need was understood perfectly also in government circles. And that is why almost the next day after the Semj accepted the union bill, solutions for this difficult problem were being sought.

## Principles of System

Its creators faced two basic dilemmas. First of all, they had to answer the question as to what the routine of conducting consultations is to be. There are over 800 unions operating in the country (data from the middle of March). They have not worked out as yet the supraplant structures. And so who should they talk to; everybody or just the chosen ones? At the beginning they favored only the second possibility, they considered choosing the representative group of unions by means of a raffle.

This idea aroused justified objections. On the other hand, if consultations are to be conducted expeditiously, it is indispensable that an organizational framework be created. The length of time and a cohesive procedure of all kinds of consultative meetings were defined both among the union representatives from various enterprises as well as in large plants. Such a solution, of course for the period of transition, aroused least doubts.

The second extremely important question was to produce a list of topics: problems, their solution variants are to be subjected to social evaluation. The difficulty ensued, mainly due to breadth of problems with which the government and its agencies deal.

After rather lengthy preparations, a transition formula was worked out adapted to the present stage of trade union movement.

Two registers of topics for consultations were produced. In first, the issues which concern the mass of working people were found; they result from tasks with which the government will occupy itself in the first half of the present year. Ten topics were chosen. Among them were found, for instance, a draft of a bill about state-owned cooperative enterprises and about enterprises with the participation of social organizations and also principles of young people's employment in accordance with the need of national economy in the period up to 1985. This list was supplemented by topics arising from programs of action of particular ministries and central offices. And thus, for instance, the Ministry of Finance will send for evaluation a draft of a bill about compensatory tax; the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs will direct for evaluation the principles in question of the system of compensation in enterprises under the economic reform and the principles of the work mediation system.

In the second group, the issues concerning only the employees of one of several lines of business were put together. And thus, for instance, the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry intends to take up for discussion with the unionists the form of social assistance offered by plants to families of employees who are in a difficult financial situation. The Ministry of Foreign Trade in the second half of the present year plans to consider, for instance, the proposal for optimal solutions for tariffs and wages, while the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry plans to consider the program of rationalization of employment. Jointly: 11 ministries nominated 50 subjects for consultation.

#### Procedure of Evaluation

In matters of concern for those employed, several stages of consultation were foreseen. The point of departure will be the publication in mass information media in RZECZPOSPOLITA of principles of the legal act being prepared.

Next, for a month, the main or central administrative organ will receive comments and motions directed to it by the unions. A consultative meeting was planned with union representatives with the proviso that representatives of those organizations which offered proposals basically different from principles of the legal act must participate in it. Similar meetings may take place also in workplaces. In the last phase, the results of the consultation together with justification for the taken decision will be announced in the mass information media or will be transmitted directly to trade unions. In matters which interest the employees of one or several lines of business, consultative meetings with union representatives and in work establishments taking into account the biggest factories in the given line of business, have been planned.

One other extremely important note draws our attention. The main or central administrative organ when directing the draft of the legal act for consideration by the Council of Ministers or by the government Presidium, the principles and the main text of which have been reviewed, is obligated



to offer fundamental remarks and motions presented during the course of evaluation and to point out those union proposals which were incorporated and to justify the rejection of others. This offers the possibility of control even on a very high level of decision undertaking, of the thoroughness of treatment of union opinions by ministries.

Soon meetings with representatives of trade union movement will be organized during which problems proposed for consultation will be discussed and the method of the consultation too. Thus is not too long a time, the system will be subjected to a practical test.

#### Regional Trade Union Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 27 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by M.K.: "Regional Meeting of Unionists"]

[Text] Yesterday at the invitation of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Social Commission of Trade Unions of Metal Industry, representatives of trade unions from plants of metal industry from the northern and northeastern regions of Poland came to Bydgoszcz. The unionists from plants in Szczecin, Bialystok, Grudziadz, Torun, Plock, Slupsk, Malbork, were to participate among others in the meeting. Unionists debated in Bydgoszcz's Belma House of Culture.

Problems connected with preparation for calling to life of Federation of Trade Unions of Metalworkers were the purpose of this common discussion. The meeting had, as far as its topic is concerned, an informational character, it also formed an exchange platform of views in this matter. Bydgoszcz hosts transmitted problems and opinions to it from analogous meetings in Poznan which took place on 23 May and in which representatives of metal workers union from southwestern territories of the country participated. The Bydgoszcz unionists being the organizers of the successive regional meeting received an invitation to Poznan deliberation. In Poznan, a group was established which had as its task a preparatory work for calling to life a founding committee of the federation. In that group were also the unionists from Bydgoszcz Province: R. Kucharski and G. Kudlinski, the president and vice-president of the voivodship social Trade Union Metalworkers Commission.

The participants of yesterday's meeting will discuss in their unions the problems connected with the organization of the federation. Individual unions or their administration will undertake official decisions as to the possibilities of joining it (depending on the notation in the statute). On 9 June this year in the Cegielski Plant in Poznan a national meeting of representatives of trade unions who possess an official declaration on the part of the unions to join the federation, will take place.

#### Workers' Beginning Trade Unions

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 28-29 May 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Ludwik Krasucki: "Workers Beginning Unions"]

[Text] It is possible to argue these or other elements of conflict which interrupted the successful course of construction of socialism in our country

and led to crisis. One thing is sure: each time in 1956, 1970 and in 1980 a weakening, dangerous in its effects, of the bond between the party and the working class, took place. It is this bond which is the most important and most precious for the party and society.

Today, after the experiences of almost 3 years of a drama which is clearly developing in the direction of a positive solution, it is known for sure that this bond cannot exist without an authentic union movement, authentic and fulfilling functions which are not simulated but real. Equipped with authority, indispensable for effective representation of interests and aspirations of working people. Notices and received by workers as their own movement, independent of administration, self-governing in its internal life forms.

But for the movement to be authentic it also means not to be a platform or a screen for opposition, for an antiregime political game. It means that syndicalism, which is far from being completely at odds with realities of contemporary life, is anarchic in its inevitable effects. In a manner proper to itself it participates in the defense and proper fulfillment of the principles of the system which grew from workers' aspirations and it is called to put workers' matters among its goals in the forefront.

All of this means that the slogan which proclaims that there can be no return either to pre-August deviations or to pre-December anarchy refers most directly and tangibly exactly to the realm of union activity and to the relations between the party, the state and the union movement.

After a long lasting discussion, in which various views and estimates were confronted, the 9th PZPR Extraordinary Congress took a stand concerning the trade unions which was critical in relation to the past and watchful towards dangers mounting up during that period. The slogan calling for independent, self-governing trade unions which are anchored in an orderly regime and have constructive aims became one of the most important points of the congress program.

This program is in force. This program inspired the Sejm bill of October 1982. The bill created a chance for trade union activity which were being created anew since such a conclusion was the result of the bitter experiences of the period of growing agitation. It is also a consequence of the spirit and the letter of the law that the union organizations which are being formed should be the advocates of the rights and interests both of its members as well as of the entirety of those employed in particular work establishments.

The beginnings could not have been easy both on account of complexity of circumstances which accompanied them, the grudges held and lack of trust on the part of many people, the attachments to previous ideas and also on account of the attempted boycott, blockade and hue and cry on the part of those whose plan to play the union card in antiregime aims, became definitely thwarted.

Two and a half million workers belong to the new unions. Workers join in the greatest numbers. They form a clear majority in the composition of union

authorities already elected. The development of new organizations of the working world does not take place uniformly. But also wherever there still is a lot of reserve and prejudice, the interest increases, a belief in need for good functioning of union elemental units, and the number of people who want to join increases as well as the number of cases to be taken care of that are directed to them. The emotions connected with the ceasing of activity of organizations that existed before, weaken. Those who attempt repeatedly to incite miss the mark ever more obviously.

The fact speaks for itself that the natural process of formation of supraplant union structures proceeds considerably ahead of time in relation to the originally set calendar timetable. This concerns steel workers, coal miners, agricultural workers, teachers, transport workers, and also other groups. Both working people as well as the government, and its different business departments, which need a strong, demanding and constructive partner in individual business departments and fields of work. The wise people in the administration do not want the comfort of governing without active unions. They know that such situation demoralizes and must produce losses.

With the participation of unions a new mechanism of consultation in the decision process relating to working people is being crystallized. The concern is for consultations with the most important social force in Poland. It is characteristic that after negotiations with union activists, the initial drafts in this matter were subject to broadening modifications.

Everything that concerns the first though ever longer steps of trade unions reborn in new shape concerns also the party itself. And that is on all levels. The ability of echelons and party organizations to cooperate with union organizations has a particular meaning. At the 9th Plenum it was said that ways and means of this cooperation must be formed jointly by party and union basic units.

The thought about denying the organizational superiority should be translated into a practical language in such a manner that the implementation of the jointly-sketched and recognized aims would take place in one track but by means of many different methods peculiar for the party and the unions. Respect for organizational, functional and personal distinctness of trade unions as autonomous organizations vis-a-vis the party, its most important partners among the working class, demands a lively, active presence of PZPR members in union activities. Trust and authority cannot be written into a decree: for the interests of the workers they should be won by good service.

This is a set of tasks of particular importance in the period in which the progress so far forms, in spite of all difficulties, real conditions for speeding up the process of normalization and rebirth of the country.

9971

CSO: 2600/996

PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES, ECONOMIC REFORM REPORTED

Workers' Self-Government, Economic Reform

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 20 May 83 p 9

[Article by jb: "Workers' Self-Government and Economic Reform"]

[Text] Workers' self-governments in Inowrodaw exist already in 17 enterprises. Only a couple of them are in fact active. The remaining ones are in the organizing stage. Can this be, however, an excuse for the little interest and equally low attendance by the chairmen of the workers' councils of this town at a special instruction-training meeting organized by the town's authorities on the initiative of the voivodship consultative team in charge of the workers' self-government matters?

The above-mentioned meeting, which began with a considerable delay because of a lack of participants, was attended by representatives of only seven enterprises' self-governments: Inowrocaw Chemical Works [IZCh], Domgos, State Agricultural Bank [PBRol], IPD [expansion unknown], Uzdrowiska, PGR, PGKIM [expansion unknown]. It has been hoped, though, that this meeting would become a broad platform for an exchange of experiences, signalling of one's problems, troubles and questions.

This does not mean that this meeting was a failure. Besides the representatives of the city authorities it was attended by a group of experts from the Voivodship Planning Commission in Bydgoszcz, from the management of the Voivodship Branch of the Polish National Bank, and from the voivodship consultative team. Their pronouncements dealt with the information on the voivodship's present economic situation, functioning of the economic reform in our region, including all the favorable and negative phenomena that are associated with it. They have also discussed what are the tasks and possibilities of the workers' councils' participation in the progressive implementation of [the reform], particularly in the realization of savings and anti-inflationary programs.

There are three planes where workers' councils can find a particularly favorable area for their activity: stimulate an increased production of



market goods and services through economy of fuels, energy, materials and raw materials; enforce budget savings, which this year should amount to 145 billion zlotys nationwide; and stop and revise payments that are not justified by labor productivity.

In those areas the authorities expect the self-governing bodies to initiate a particularly lively activity. Enterprises engaged in the implementation of the above-mentioned goals can count on turnover and income taxes credits. The attention of those participating in the consultation was also drawn to the phenomenon of progressing decapitalization of enterprises' assets, first of all of the production facilities. The independent status granted to the enterprises by the reform unfortunately is not being taken advantage of to an expected degree in order to prevent the occurrence of this unfavorable phenomenon. Almost all the profit is assigned for consumption, while nothing or only its negligible part of it becomes development fund.

It has been also pointed out that still not all self-governments are aware of the powerful weapon and great possibilities which they have at their disposal. The way they are being utilized also varies. Unfortunately, not always enterprise's interest is being respected. The crisis situation, the country's needs, and particularly the requirements of the savings program force some self-governments to act more vigorously and to take more decisive positions. Such phenomena are being observed in Inowrocaw Chemical Works Irena Domestic Glass Works, and Inofama Inowrocaw Farm Equipment Factory. Not everywhere, however, is economic accounting being followed yet. Another fact that was pointed out was enterprises' insufficient interest in the role of rationalization and invention movement in the implementation of the savings program.

#### Delegates of Self-Government Meet

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 8 Jun 83 p 6

[Article by jb: "Workers' Self-Government of 'Naftobudowa' Met"]

[Text] Yesterday, in the Zwiaskowiec movie house, for the first time in the enterprise's history, met in conference almost 300 delegates of the workers' self-government of the Naftobudowa Engineering-Renovation Enterprise of Chemical Industry. They arrived from every part of the country: Trzebinia, Jaso, Jedlicze, Czechowice, Chorzow, Wocawek, Gdansk, Tarnow, Pock, Debica. Naturally, delegates from Krakow also came to this historic meeting, as Edward Macieja, chairman of the Workers' Council, put it. However, the invited guests did not show up at the meeting, while Apolinary Kozub, chairman of the Krakow National Council, just sent a letter in which he thanked the employees of Naftobudowa for the work they have performed so far, both in the country and abroad, as well as for the extraordinary work for Krakow and its historic monuments.

The meeting proceeded in a worklike atmosphere. "A lawyer on duty" reminded at the outset that according to the binding legal acts workers' self-management is enterprise's highest authority and it expresses its will in the form

of appropriate resolutions. Thus, after a discussion, enterprise's statute, statute of a workforce self-government, regulations of a Workers' Council in enterprise's field branches, as well as elections regulations were approved.

In addition, [the participants] heard a report of Ludwik Bernacki, chief director, on the enterprise's activity during the last year, as well as on its plans for the immediate future. The activities of management in this respect were rated favorably. Much attention of the discussants was devoted to strategy of activities in the nearest future. Main directions are: further increase in production and its further specialization, maximalization of exports and assuring adequate profit, both from domestic activities as well as from those conducted abroad.

#### Self-Government, Trade Union Cooperation

Gdansk DZIENNIK BATYCKI in Polish 14 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Lucjan Pracki: "Necessary But Not Easy Cooperation; Self-Government and Trade Unions"]

[Text] I happened to be at the Voivodship Advisory-Consultative Team for Trade Union Affairs when one of the workshop activists called. He announced that he will challenge a resolution of the workers' council, which without consulting the union divided the workshop funds, including social fund, and it even set the amount of statutory benefits, which is a matter only for the union cell to act upon.

As the team's employees disclose, along with the development of unions and workers' self-government there is a growing number of signals about various difficulties that are encountered in the process of their mutual cooperation. Their scale is not a cause for alarm, neither are they visible everywhere, nevertheless they occur often enough to make one think about the sources and the solutions of this problem.

The most frequent are arguments about responsibilities resulting from ignorance or obscure regulations, sometimes even from an intentional circumvention of regulations. There are cases, as in the one that described above in which workers' councils decided on matters that are a union's responsibility without asking the union for its opinion. There are signals that some union cells (for instance in mining) oppose the development of self-government, viewing it as a competitor in their efforts to control employee's allegiances. Sometimes the union shows a reserved attitude toward the workers' council, because some of the latter's activists continue to flirt with the political opposition.

Any way you look at this, both sides, notwithstanding the fact that they represent interests of the same workforce, have sometimes reasons for not being satisfied. As has been revealed by studies, the reason for the

majority of misunderstandings is lack of experience and knowledge of regulations, a common occurrence among the newly-created unions and workers' councils. Their activists in most of the cases just start their civic work, and in spite of their best intentions they make mistakes. This is why training of union and self-government activists, just now being expanded, has such importance. In one's daily work one can also receive an opinion or an advice at the advisory-consultative teams.

In the opinion of specialists, already now we would have considerably fewer misunderstandings had the activists resorted more often to the basic documents: laws on trade unions, on workers' self-government and state enterprise, labor code, etc. Those documents are mutually intertwined and they supplement one another, thus only if one treats and studies them as a whole can one find a proper answer for the doubts that one encounters in real life situations.

Workers' councils would not certainly ignore a union's opinion in making decisions if they remember article 36 of the law on self-government, which states that in a case when "resolutions of the workforce self-government organs or decisions of the enterprise's manager pertain to matters that are within the competences of trade unions, before such moves are made the enterprise's organs are obliged to enable the trade unions to take a stand on such issues in compliance with the law on trade unions and the labor code." Thus, in order not to make a mistake it is necessary to know and follow all those documents.

Many misunderstandings arise particularly in matters concerning decisions on wages. The law on self-government does not stipulate employees' councils' prerogatives regarding decisions on the principles of remuneration, wage regulations, rewards and bonuses. All these are matters that are legal prerogatives of trade unions, which voice their opinion as a spokesman of workers' interest on remuneration for work and other benefits, including social benefits. The same principles apply to work time, designing plans for leaves, as well as to the workforce's social and cultural needs. Nobody should make any decisions on these matters before hearing the union's opinion.

The principle of respecting the binding laws and regulations is, therefore, the optimal basis for a proper relationship between the union and the workers' self-government. But even legal solutions, as the well-known expert, Docent Tadeusz Jaworski, states in his pamphlet "Self-Government and Trade Unions in an Enterprise," are not unequivocal. It is necessary, therefore, to promptly work out and disseminate appropriate explanations and commentaries. In many instances unions have the right to take a stand, but failure to heed this opinion does not invalidate the legality of decisions that were made without such a consultation, and this is a cause for arguments. Thus, procedures for negotiating them should be worked out lest they turn into conflicts.

Probably the most important problem is, however, striving for creating an atmosphere of businesslike cooperation characterized by a sincere intention

to find optimal forms of contacts and cooperation. The law on self-government stipulates a possibility of arranging appropriate agreements between the workers' council and union locals as well as sociopolitical organizations functioning in a workplace. As far as I know this has not become an everyday practice. Maybe it is worthwhile to try it?

#### Self-Government, Trade Unions Together or Separate

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 16 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Adam Bartnikowski: "Together or Separate; Self-Government--Unions"]

[Text] Yesterday, on the 15th of this month, at the Olsztyn Voivodship Government, there was a meeting of the members of the Voivodship National Council's Presidium, members of the Voivodship Trade Unions Informative-Consultative Team, as well as Voivodship Workers' Self-Government Consultative Team at the Voivodship National Council's Presidium with the chairmen of workers' self-governments and trade unions of the larger workplaces of Olsztyn Voivodship. In addition, the managers of those workplaces were invited. They discussed the problems of cooperation between workers' self-governments and trade unions. The meeting was presided by the chairman of the Voivodship National Council's Presidium, Colonel Bogdan Mazurek. Among those attending the meeting were also Sejm deputies Jan Bojarski and Szczepan Styranowski, chairwoman of the Democratic Party's Voivodship Committee, Anna Kochanowska, and secretary of the United Peasant Party's Voivodship Committee, Apolinary Wazbinski.

Discussion was introduced by Joanna Jackowska from the Voivodship Trade Union Informative-Consultative Team and the Trade Union Liaison Team attached to the Olsztyn governor. She discussed some mechanisms of founding and operating of self-governing and union organs, she recalled their prerogatives and principles of cooperation. She stressed, at the same time, that this meeting is supposed to initiate an exchange of experiences on the functioning of legal regulations pertaining to self-government and union work in the daily practice of workplaces.

During the discussion self-government and union activists talked about many particular problems of this work. The annoying problem of mutual animosity between self-government and union activists was particularly underlined.

Stanislaw Kuczynski from the Olsztyn Industrial Building Enterprise even ventured a theory about a competition between the self-government and trade unions. At the same time, he maintained that managers often ignore the opinion of trade unions when they make their decisions, taking advantage of the law's clause that defines such an opinion as having merely consultative character.

Szczepan Brzostek from the Iawa Automobile Repair Works postulated frequent consultations by the specialists from both teams in the outlying localities, because it is difficult to travel to Olsztyn each time one faces a problem.



He also pointed out some minor but disturbing shortcomings in the work of the Trade Unions Publishing Institute. They have to do with the lack of all kinds prints, manuals, etc.

Wiesaw Sukowski from Spomasz Olsztyn Restaurant Machinery and Equipment Works informed the participants about preparations leading to formation of a federation of the trade union of employees of the metal and electromachine branch, and he encouraged them to join this organization.

Andrzej Stryjewski from the Olsztyn Engineering Works viewed the problem of conflicts between the self-government and the trade unions as being artificially and excessively blown up. Henryk Siemaszko from the Warmia Warfama Factory of Agricultural Machines in Dobrze Miasto did not agree with this opinion, he maintained that a conflict between those two organizations is unavoidable. It results from the very nature of those organs.

Ryszard Bedlich from the Lenpol Northern Flax Works in Szczytno submitted questions to the members of both teams. He was interested in the problem of setting up trade unions in a multi-unit enterprise as well as in the possibility of repossessing workplace-owned apartments that are occupied by people who are not employed by a given workplace. Seconding Wiesaw Sukowski, he informed the participants about the preparations for organizing a trade union federation of the employees of light industry.

Chairman of the Trade Union Informative-Consultative Team, Henryk Kubczak, presented its main goals activity. Its core are lawyers who give advice regarding founding trade unions and organizing their activities. This team also conducts training for union activists in a training center in Jachranka near Warsaw. Responding to remarks concerning the activity of the Trade Union Publishing Institute he announced that a vademecum of a union activist will be published shortly, it will contain a compendium of facts about this subject. Answering the question of the representative of Lenpol, he stated that in a case of a multi-unit enterprise a supraworkplace organization, an enterprise federation can be set up. A decision concerning this is made by the union members themselves.

Wiesaw Kral, deputy chairman of the Team on Workers' Self-Government, advised the participants about the activities of that team. He also elucidated many specific questions that were frequently asked during the discussion.

Deputy Governor Henryk Baranowski, who is also chairman of Trade Union Liaison Team, expressed his opinion on conflicts at the workplaces. The role of manager is important, he should supervise his workplace in such a skillful way so that conflicts can be avoided, or if they occur, take the steam out of them. The workers' welfare is of paramount importance, and not just in terms of present time but also in the future. In this sense, therefore, there is no contradiction between the aims of self-government or trade union activities. If, however, quarrels and disputes drag on it is an unmistakable sign of an enterprise's decline.

The deputy governor addressed the question of workplace-owned apartments; it is impossible to repossess them, the exception being apartments for the cadre. In conclusion he stated that the main role of the unit under his supervision is a two-way consultation, that is, relaying information from the top to the workforces, as well as consultations on specific matters. This unit can also play a role of a mediator in cases of conflicts between trade unions and organs of state administration.

Chairman of the Voivodship National Council, Colonel Bogdan Mazurek, made the concluding statement. He underlined that those working in the consultative teams are not paid for their work, they make a sacrifice of their time and qualifications. They are not supposed to directly interfere in the life of social organizations in workplaces, for this reason teams' members do not come uninvited. Colonel Mazurek was hopeful that many problems were cleared up during the discussion. Most probably, many further problems will surface in the course of expanding self-government and union activity. The Presidium of the Voivodship National Council will avail itself in its work of the information relayed by both teams.

9644

CSO: 2600/1051

PROVINCIAL WORKERS SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Workforce Joint Cooperation

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 8 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (b): "Participation of Personnel in Management--A Condition for Success in Economic Reform"]

[Text] In the background of worker councils active in 65 different plants and enterprises of Krosnov Province, in the Gamrat Plastics Works [ZTS] there is, it seems, the most experience and achievement in substantive organizing activity. Immediately after the introduction of the marital law, a consultative council was formed in ZTS, as an advisory body to the decision-making of the enterprise director. This tradition of activity served for the reactivation of the self-government work during the second half of last year.

At that time, a group was assembled for working up statutes and an election law, and organizational-informational meetings were carried out along with the election of plant members and 17 local electoral commissions. Exactly on 22 April 1983, the 38-member Worker Council and its presidium were constituted. Several days later, at the inauguration meeting of the personnel and the Worker Council, the statutes of the council and the enterprise were ratified. Also, the distribution of income into a development fund, a reserve fund, and the personnel fund was effected. In turn, a general meeting of delegates distributed the personnel fund into compensation for workers, and funds earmarked for social and housing construction purposes. The next stage of work was participation in the plant's economization and anti-inflation programs. The council also held the election of its own representative in the association of allied enterprises. Then recently, it familiarized itself with the activity of the ZTS in the area of production, sales, export, and the improvement of working and social-living conditions of its personnel. The council also conducted an evaluation of the current work of the personnel during a period of 4 months of 1983, and fixed the principles for the distribution of prizes and awards.

And then the worker self-government in Gamrat Plastics Works participating in the management of the enterprise is an agent in the introduction of the

principles of economic reform, and its example, satisfying an attainment and an achievement in social-self-government activity, are an example for others in the Subcarpathian area.

Starting off from such assumptions, for the broad exchange of experiences of the evaluation of the forms of work of the council in Gamrat Plastics Works yesterday, a "little parliament of self-government promoters" took place, of persons from the entire Krosno Province, in which representatives of personnel and enterprises where councils still are not in operation, also took part. The political and administrative authorities including Stanislaw Roczniak, secretary of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Krosno also participated.

Chairman Marian Plachta informed those gathered about the achievements of the Worker Council in the ZTS to date, after which discussion developed. In the background, the representatives of self-government bodies emphasized the necessity for the widespread propagation of good forms of work, the need was accented for the exchange of experiences and continuous improvement of the knowledge of the self-government promoters. The introduction of the principles of the two annual meetings of representatives of worker councils from the entire province was also stipulated. These meetings should become the platform for the exchange of views, achievements, and attainments. From these standpoints, the "newborn little parliament" has to be considered one of the initiatives worthy of widespread support.

#### Workers' Self-Government Activities at Myszkow Plant

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Tadeusz Trujan]

[Text] Worker self-government of the Myszkow Myfana Utensils Factory was reactivated—as the first in Czestochowa Province—back in July of 1982. The renewed "start up" under conditions of the martial law and the rather passive attitude of the personnel did not pass without resistance however, the promoters set about their work with great enthusiasm, and what is most important—they knew what they wanted and what could be expected. In other words, the program that was worked out stuck to real issues. In the forefront: the more daring implementation of economic reform, actions aimed at raising production, and as a result, an increase in wages. The new incentive system had to facilitate this to a considerable degree (we wrote about the first steps of the self-government of the factory in an article entitled "Self-Government for Achievement," which was published in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA dated 5 August 1982).

What items of the plans could be expected to be carried out, and what remained on paper? For the life of the plant leads to plans for making



corrections. We also searched for answers to other questions. After nearly a year's activity, does self-government take into its workshop the most essential problems of the enterprise? With what kind of results does it solve them? Does it manage to establish partnership relations with management, and especially, is it accepted by the personnel as a whole as their representative?

We hold an attempt at publicizing life in the plant in the hall of an office building. On a bulletin board is the resolution of the Worker Council dated 26 May 1983. And from the resolution, it is possible to find out what the current situation at Myfana is:

1. Information is being accepted on the current status of the economy of the enterprise with the following conditions: the continuing drop in employment can cause the nonfulfillment of the task announced for 1983, in connection with which, the financial resources for the planned increase in wages will not be earned; we may not achieve the planned profit in the specified level, which is earmarked for the development fund and for the personnel (...);
2. The director is committed to working up (...) undertakings aimed at: changing the structure of employment and possible changes in the product mix, including the supply of materials, the production capabilities, and the drop in employment."

To the first question of whether the self-government occupies itself with the most important problems of the enterprise, well, we have a positive answer, and this is still before going into the room of the Worker Council. In a while, its secretary, Franciszek Pikula, provides much more detailed data. Are the proposals contained in the resolution indicating the real way toward the overcoming of the difficulties? "Even in the background of the members of the council, there are divided opinions," answers the secretary. People are leaving not without reason; simply speaking, they are paid too low. In April 1983, over 60 persons left, included, in this number, of course, are those called into the military service and those who have retired, but the majority were released from work, or left it, as we know--for wage reasons. However, if this outflow does not get held up, it will be worse, not better.

The earnings are low from a relative standpoint. This means in comparison with two plants in the nearby area. The Mystal Myszkow Metallurgical Works has an average wage that is 3,000 zlotys higher, the paper plant has wages over 1,000 zlotys higher. Mystal is metallurgy, which means more difficult working conditions. But is it so in the entire factory--our speaker says in doubting voice, adding that even in Swiatowica or the Myszkow Utensil Factory, there are many difficult jobs. Then why are they not covered by preferential wages? Look--we hear in reply--this has been going on for a long time, although only within the framework of the existing capacities, and these have been exhausted.

"Let us turn into a closed circle," continues the secretary of the council, "if the production grew in value, the wage fund would also grow. However,

how can this be done as long as there is a shortage of people, and we are unable to afford mechanization or automation."

And therefore, the self-government promoters are searching ways out through compromise--changes in the employment structure and the product mix.

What would these changes be based on?

Almost half of the work, especially decisive for production, is on piecework. This is like a front on which there can be no gaps. Therefore, a reassignment of personnel is necessary--from administration (however, it is known that activities in this sphere are generally illusive), and above all, from the groups of workers paid by the day. This is also a difficult matter. Day workers somehow are not tempted by the higher earnings in piecework. Certainly, being accustomed to the work that one is doing plays a part in this. Perhaps it is also fear of work that is considerably more intensive? Anyway, these displacements are likewise risky. It is true that the need of people in the piecework system, however, in to way must weaken excessively the production support services.

As far as changes in the product mix are concerned--it is difficult with respect to reconciling the interests of the enterprise and its personnel with the interests of society as a whole. The self-government represents the workers, and tries to identify with them. At the same time, many of them are reproachful toward the Worker Council and the management that is striving for the good of the plant, the economy, they have gone overboard. For example, the following arguments are heard: "If during the first half of 1982 we had not worked with such a steady rhythm, and instead of that, we had repaired part of the machines, getting ready for a production jump during the second half of the year, then this controlled growth would have influenced the better formation of all the indicators, the growth curve of exports, and the relief in the Vocational Activization Fund [FAZ] indebtedness." It is true, during the first half of last year, self-government was not in operation yet, but for its critics the fact suffices that its promoters are consistently in favor of full utilization of productive capacities. One way or another, the opinion prevails that Resolution No. 186 of the Council of Ministers did not help Myfana, self management, and the personnel.

The worker Council cannot count on these voices, although--as it has already proved--it will also manage to take decisions not increasing its popularity. However, there remains--as the question of primary importance--the assurance of proper operation for the factory, which, under the current conditions of decreasing employment, means the necessity for maintaining the current value of production and planned wage fund. Perhaps this can be achieved by an at least partial relinquishing of high labor-intensive and cheaper products in favor of more profitable products.

The conclusion can be drawn from this that self-government has gone the way of least resistance, and intends to sacrifice the good of the economy as a

whole for the particular interests of the workers. However, this would be an unfair evaluation. First--the factory up to now has been fully realizing its own completely unreduced production and sales assignments, and second--these results exist thanks to the various initiatives undertaken or supported by the Worker Council (above-plan work was adopted in the plant according to agreements, for example, for the galvanizing of buckets, and an attractive element of this system is the payment of compensation within several days after the execution of the assignment). "Unfortunately," maintain the promoters, "the further drop in employment will force the revision of the plan, you cannot hide your head in the sand, however, cheering yourself up that somehow things will turn out well one way or another. The solutions proposed to the management are the least drastic, relatively speaking, in this situation."

Is it also the Opinion of the director?

Director Edward Furman:

"The resolution of the Worker Council outlined the directions of activity that are sensible in my own conviction also. As far as the particular undertakings are concerned, I have been given freedom. Above all, however, I wish to explain that as we finally determined--we are not talking about a change in product mix, but on changes within the frameworks of individual groups of product assortments. This is a great difference. We cannot withdraw from the production of utensils, even some varieties, because for this, it would be necessary to change the statutes of the enterprise, and this would have to be in agreement with the founding body. We are called the Myszkow Utensil Factory, and we must, in keeping with our statutes, produce utensils, although, not just utensils, of course. For we produce many other products, including, for example, washers, and centrifuges."

"Then on what are the changes within the framework of the product mix going to depend upon?"

"Above all, on the decisive improvement of quality, and this means automatically an increase in worth. It is possible and it is necessary to attain this through the reduction of the share of products of second quality, in other words--fewer rejects, tightened up control. The needs of the market have to be taken into account."

"Could this have resulted from the fact that the self-government approached the problem too one-sidedly, having only the economics of the enterprise in mind?"

"This is only the way it appears. Well, because if people are going to continue to depart, the management will not hold back the drop in production. Therefore, there are no differences between the interests of the factory and the good of the market, or of the economy as a whole. The resolution of Worker Council expresses its concern about this very thing."

Product mix matters, at least for the time being, will be arranged for satisfying the market.

It is worse with changes in the structure of employment. The possibilities for the director in this area are very limited. We spoke about the transfers to the group of piece workers in the same way as about additional work "on contract." There is still a certain hope still for the return of the "early outers," as one commonly calls the people here who went off to retirement earlier, and often, while at peak capacity. There have already been two meetings with them. About 80 persons came to the second meeting, and some will certainly allow themselves to be convinced. This will be solid support, although it is known, that without radical changes on the labor market, the situation of Myfana will not undergo improvement.

Anyone who expected too much from self-government could have been disappointed, but nevertheless, admits the director, it is easier to overcome difficulties with self-government. Perhaps this is painstaking cooperation, that takes up time, but the advantages are unshakable. Social acceptance of a decision discussed beforehand helps in carrying it out and gives it greater penetrating force.

Of the questions posed at the beginning, only one remains without an answer: Do the personnel see their own authentic representation in the self-government? We have already told you about what some people have found fault with it for. These same people, probably, praise the last resolution of the Worker Council, because it exactly reflects the attitudes in the enterprise itself. In a situation where it is constantly necessary to overcome a crisis, it is difficult to satisfy everyone.

Above all, the facts count for everyone, however, and these indicate that the factory management, with the participation of the representatives of the personnel, who were also chosen by the personnel, is proceeding correctly. which--as it seems--not only is not hurting the development of socialist democracy but is even facilitating it. And this is already a distinct manifestation of real representation of the interests of the personnel by self-government.

#### Self-Government Activities at Wroclaw Plant

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Zabinski: "Self-Government Must Be Singleminded"]

[Text] The personnel of the Wroclaw Elektromontaz Enterprise for Production and Assembly of Electrical Equipment for the Construction Industry elected a worker council shortly before the proclamation of martial law. The council only managed to meet once; then a hiatus of over 1 year in its activities took place. After this hiatus, will the members of the council fulfill their social duties with enthusiasm? I posed this question to the representatives of the personnel of Elektromontaz not without reason. In many



enterprises, self-governments have been in operation for several months already, but it is frequently possible to hear from the self-government promoters that it is still too early to make an evaluation.

"We had a conference of delegates representing the entire personnel working within the territories of four provinces in Lower Silesia on 9 May 1983," said Boleslaw Zemski, member of the worker council of Elektromontaz. "All of the delegates arrived, which can attest to the fact that the interest in the activity of self-government is great."

"During the time of the discussions, were there voices saying, for example, that self-government was unnecessary?"

B. Zemski: No, we did not discuss this, it was clear to everyone that self-government had to be. Immediately, we concentrated on substantive problems, specifically on the enactment of a statute of the enterprise and self-government. The working up of a self-government statute took quite a lot of work, we had to solve many controversial problems.

GR: For example...

Andrzej Kielczewski, secretary of the Worker Council: It was necessary to determine whether a member of a worker council had the right to work on an Elektromontaz construction project abroad. At first we acknowledged that he could not because as a member of the worker council, he could actually initiate the concept of various trips abroad, among other reasons, so that he himself could participate in them. However, at the end, we recognized that a worker council member could work abroad. The argument prevailed that with that first solution, not many people would want to be candidates for worker council membership."

GR: But the areas of jurisdiction of self-government, are they not quite limited?

A. Kielczewski: "We do not feel that we are restricted in our activity in any way at all.

GR: What have you done up to this time?

Wladyslaw Szalewicz, member of the worker council: First of all, we checked out the balance of the enterprise for last year. In analyzing it, we gave our attention mainly to the size of extraordinary losses, whether they were not too high, how did they come about, etc. We did not discern irregularities. The matter of distribution of profits was also very important, although it is necessary to admit that we had a limited field to maneuver in.

Stanislaw Lawniczak, chairman of the worker council: "We wanted every worker to have something from profit. At the beginning of last year, we had a difficult personnel situation; in comparison with other construction enterprises, the average wage in our enterprise was low. Many persons then began

to depart from Elektromontaz, especially in Legnica Province, where it was actually possible to earn considerably more, for example in KGHM [Kombinat Gorniczo-Hutniczy Miedzi--Copper Mining and Metallurgical Combine]. For a few years already, the level of wages in Elektromontaz was quite low, and the frequently changing resolutions concerning the economy only made our situation worse. The money saved from wages could not be utilized during the following year, and came to nothing. It was also for this reason, that last year, we had proposed that wages we increased in a perceptable way--we paid 33,500,000 zlotys for the Vocational Activization Fund [FAZ], which made it possible for us to increase compensation by about 18 percent.

GR: But then, did the worker council get itself set to "eat up" the earned profit?

A. Kielczewski: The bankers also faulted us for this, but we could not do differently, since many assembly workers would have left us. These would be losses that could not be recovered.

GR: In Elektromontaz the construction of a new production hall has been completed, in which, among other things, a modern industrial line for painting has been installed. Can it be then that the capital investment needs of the enterprise are not too large any more?

S. Lawniczek: Capital investment has still not been completed. It is also necessary to build personnel services facilities, a boiler house, to prepare sites, etc. We are trying to reconcile the current interests of the firm with the future development. This is not easy, since development takes place at the expense, among other things, of funds for wages. We also proposed application to a bank for the granting of credit to us. We would pay it up within 5 years.

GR: Does the worker council have a conceptual plan of the further development of the firm?

S. Lawniczak: We are agreed as to the fact that it is necessary to get oriented toward an increase in exports. In addition to the indisputable financial benefits, in this way, we shall achieve one more very important goal--the stabilization of our personnel. A worker has a better future in our enterprise if he is working well and conscientiously, and has the opportunity to work on construction projects abroad.

GR: And what can be done in the domestic bailiwick?

W. Szalewicz: The raising of labor productivity is very important, why, the existence of the firm depends upon this. However, it is not possible to achieve this only by trying to force out greater physical effort. I judge that much greater reserves are contained in the improvement of organization, in facilitating labor for the worker. In our enterprise, the widespread introduction of so-called minor mechanization equipment would go over very well. Without doubt, this would have an effect on the increase in productivity. However, it is possible to purchase such equipment only for foreign exchange, so we have to earn our way up to it...

GR: Recently, the employees of the Provincial Planning Commission in Wroclaw conducted a test survey among the directors on the subject of activity of self-governments. The directors gave critical evaluations of the, asserting that the worker councils are occupied mainly with personnel matters, demand a constant rise in wages, and do not take up unpopular subjects, such as the improvement of productivity and labor discipline. Can these criticisms also be levied against the worker council of Elektromontaz?

S. Lawniczak: I do not know how the director evaluates us, but I believe that he does not have an unfavorable opinion. We do not conduct our own personnel policy, and we are not occupying ourselves with these matters. The director is here for that purpose, and we have full confidence in him on this question. According to our evaluation, the advancement system in Elektromontaz is correct and there is no need to change it. Such activities would, finally, be of harm to the worker council. We cannot be involved in everything a little bit, we have to concentrate on the most important matters. And the interest of the enterprise is the most important to us.

A. Kielczewski: Self-government cannot have two minds. The director has to have it, since he is supposed to be guided by the interests of society as a whole and the enterprise, and to reconcile them with himself. In turn, the party organization in its activity has in mind, mainly the interest of society as a whole. Such a division of tasks guarantees the proper operation of the firm.

GR: Are you not afraid that the personnel will criticize you that you are consumed with the strategic problems of the enterprise and have lost sight of the ordinary worker?

B. Zemski: There were such criticisms from a part of the personnel. But then, there are trade unions for the current defense of the interests of the workers, and we are not supposed to encroach in their jurisdictions. Together with the management, we want to "set" the enterprise in such a way that it could assure the workers a decent existence. It is this way actually that we understand concern over the interests of the workers to be.

GR: Currently, more and more supplant union structures are coming into existence. Would that also not be necessary in the case of self-governments, especially since many worker councils are just plain weak in their operations?

S. Lawniczak: It is possible, that structures of this kind are needed, but first of all, the worker councils should do everything possible so that everything in their enterprises is in order. And it is then that it is possible to think about the further stages of development of the self-government movement.

GR: Thank you for the discussion.

## Self-Government at Food Management Bank

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 13 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Zenon Mlynczyk: "Worker Representation in the BGZ"]

[Text] "Within the composition of the Bank of Food Management [BGZ] are the cooperative banks from the territory of an entire province. At the same time, they are independent units. Up to now, the plant housing fund and the social fund were formed at the Provincial Department of the BGZ. The Provincial Social Commission, which was appointed by the workers, exercised control over these funds. As of 31 March 1983, it was dissolved in view of the fact that a Trade Union of BGZ Workers had come into existence by then. However, in many cooperative banks, there are no union groups. In addition to this, not all workers joined the trade union, and the worker council, which was instituted according to the prescriptions of the Decree of the Council of the Ministers dated 10 February 1983, would be the only representative of the entire personnel without exception. Therefore, we see the necessity for instituting such a council as soon as possible. However, we received information from management that worker councils cannot be formed in cooperative banks. Therefore, I am asking for a public statement, since all of the employees of the cooperative banks are waiting for this, as are the employees of out-of-town departments of the BGZ, such as, for example, in Biala Podlaska:

"1) Can the employees of the Cooperative Bank have the right to institute their own worker council?

"2) Can an out-of-town BGZ Credit Department have its own council?

"3) Is it possible to institute a provincial commission of representatives of these worker councils, to coordinate matters of managing the joint housing and social funds, which are personnel and not union funds?"

(Name and address known to the editorial staff).

First of all, a few of the most necessary precise explanations:

The relationship of cooperative banks to the Bank of Food Management is more or less the same as that of cooperatives to the central union of cooperatives. The cooperative bank maintains financial and organizational separation. It is different with the out-of-town departments of the BGZ. They are within the structure of the BGZ, as its organic units.

The Social Commission was not a representational organ of the personnel, it also did not have independence in decision-making. It was an advisory and consultative body for the director, instituted by him in agreement with the boards of cooperative banks.

And now for the questions asked.



Article 88 of the banking law--Law dated 26 February 1982 (DZIENNIK URZEDOWY [Official Gazette] No 7, Item 56) establishes that worker councils shall operate in central banks and in their branches. They are representative bodies of the personnel and have the following authorizations:

--Passing judgement on candidates for management positions, staffed by way of institution by bank presidents or by directors of organizational units of the bank.

--Cooperation with the bank management in the determination of principles of personnel and wage policy.

--Passing judgement on individual principles or conclusions in matters of classifications, prizes, and promotions of the workers.

--Passing judgment on work regulations and work organization principles in the organizational units of a bank.

--Providing initiatives and suggestions in matters of the social and living conditions of the workers.

--Passing judgement on suggestions in the matters of issuance of distinctions and orders.

Organizational units of a bank, in which worker councils can (and should) operate were defined by the law in an exhaustive way. These are, in addition to the central bodies, the branches of a bank. However, a separate worker council cannot be formed in a out-of-town department. It is a part of a branch of the bank. The worker council of the branch is the representative body of the workers of such an out-of-town department.

The cooperative banks are not branches of the BGZ. The prescriptions of the banking law on worker councils do not apply to them. Cooperative banks are cooperatives. The operation of worker self-government can be based in cooperatives only on the prescriptions of the law on cooperatives. According to Article 60 paragraph 1 of this law--dated 16 September 1932 (DZIENNIK URZEDOWY No. 30, item 210), worker self-government operates in organizational and economically separate cooperative institutions employing at least 50 workers. The cooperative banks fail to meet these conditions, either from the standpoint of organization, or from the standpoint of number of workers.

So, there remains a single form of worker representation in cooperative banks--the trade union.

The argument that the personnel of certain cooperative banks are deprived of their own representation since a trade union does not operate in all of the banks is totally pointless. It is a matter for the workers themselves to form their own trade union.

The searching for other extralegal forms of representative organizations would be uncalled for, and even impermissible. For that reason also, it

would have to be unfavorable to resort to "a provincial commission" for the coordination of the matters of managing the joint housing and social funds, if this commission would consist of other individuals (how would they be appointed, and by whom?) other than the representatives of the basic union organizations of those work establishments that participate in the formation of joint funds. Both the housing fund and the social fund are--obviously--the fund of the work establishment (or the joint fund of several plants), and not the fund of a trade union. However, trade unions have the right, relative to the management of the work establishments and relative to the self-government organs of the personnel, to occupy positions, including those also in matters concerning the management of these funds. The prescription of Art. 30, paragraph 2, point 2 of the law on trade unions authorizes them to speak in the interests of the entire personnel in these matters.

5808

CSO: 2600/1017

DEMOCRATIC PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

Central Committee Presidium Report

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 22-24 Apr 83 p 3

[Report read on 21 April 1983 at the Tenth Plenum of the Democratic Party Central Committee by Prof Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the Central Committee Presidium: "We Stand in the Ranks to Fight for Paramount Concerns"]

[Text] Colleagues!

This is our Central Committee's tenth plenary meeting held in an atmosphere of continued efforts in the fight for appeasement of the political mood in the country. One is likely to reflect on which way to choose to return, as quickly as possible, to the highest possible measure of normalcy in the conditions of our lives. At this time, probably none among us are likely to doubt that only the path of economic reform initiated in 1982 and a change of the style of thinking in economic and political activities can take us out of our troubles. Polish society has been offered numerous ideas, and even forced to accept many measures, which allegedly were to produce salutary effects.

What has remained of this, is nothing but hard realities, deteriorating standards of living, supply problems, a disrupted market, lower labor productivity and discipline of performance, great societal needs and encumbrances, political and economic blackmail on the part of the western countries, major debt for the Polish state, and steady efforts to foment disquiet in Poland on the part of the very same political forces in Europe that on many past occasions have sown poisoned seed which germinated into our national disasters. These actions were superimposed on adverse political and economic developments in the late 1970's. Despite their early defeats, those forces are not quitting. They count on our ignorance, naivete, or hatred; they penetrate, instigate, persuade, and instruct, hoping to succeed in turning our young generation into a sacrificial lamb. They hope to, first, topple socialism in Poland, and then to exult in the nation's disaster and defeat and drama in order to extract, finally, their own gains from these developments--at our cost, flinching from nothing, not even from infringing on our most important concern, peace in all of its aspects, social, economic, political and military.

We all, without doubt and without pause, must commit ourselves to the fight against the forces intent on violating and destroying that peace.

In December 1981, we said no to those forces. But even the most resolute words will not suffice. Specific actions and courageous acceptance of responsibility for those actions are needed with full awareness of mixed response from the nation--which is understandable, considering the condition of our society. It is a condition of imperilment of our economic and social existence and, consequently, of our national existence. We have to change this condition--removing the peril--by a total mobilization of the entire society for constructive work in implementing the programs recently developed by the government to make our way out of the crisis. Together with the PZPR and ZSL, we must give these programs a forceful political backing, because at issue are our paramount concerns, our return to "normalcy," meaning life and prospects for growth. Development prospects sustain life--when these prospects end, life becomes mere vegetating. Hence, anti-inflation and economizing programs should be regarded as a necessary prelude to further stages--they are programs for "getting up off our knees," for there is no way to wage a successful battle for the country's future and development on our knees. In this act of rising up, people should support one another. In this endeavor, there is glory to each individual who pulls himself up and helps another to rise, and condemnation and contempt to those who "pull down," "raise a protest," or emigrate into a realm of illusion wishing to live there at society's cost. Whoever claims to be a citizen of sober and objective thought and is, therefore, "a natural patriot," such individual should, even if having doubts or differing views on particular issues, stand in the ranks to fight for the one issue of greatest significance: in the ranks of political parties, in the ranks of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], or simply in the ranks of the wide front of working people, honestly discharging his duty, observing the necessary strictures and, above all, the effective laws, and totally abandoning politically and socially irrational attitudes. At issue is our material existence and future survival.

Join the ranks in a fight for important causes and for the most important cause--this is not a mere slogan. It is a line containing a great deal of substance. There is hardly any need to speak about this to this audience.

At this juncture we should pause to ask ourselves about the makeup of SD ranks 2 years into our present term. What is the membership's party-political and ideological awareness and the level of consciousness of tasks, achievements, and failures? Are we loyal to one another? How pure are the declared intentions and how cohesive is the organization? What is our political weight?

Without embarking on detailed analysis--this must be done via different channels--I only wish to say that we must earnestly strive for further strengthening of our political position domestically in an allied pattern, for consolidation of our party's political unity, and for perfecting our ideology. There are reasons why I am using these formulations.

Our Tenth Plenum is a proper occasion, both because of its political timing and because of the situation in which the SD has found itself, to state once again forcefully and unequivocally, that:



1. The SD initiated its political activities arm-in-arm with the Polish Left and tied its fate and hope with it, jointly to determine shared sociopolitical goals based on the construction of a socialist Polish state and on democratic ideals.

To accomplish these objectives, the SD allied itself with PZPR and ZSL. There is no backing away from these facts.

2. At the present stage of sociopolitical developments, the SD has no doubt as to the correctness of its political course to date, assuring its political-organizational autonomy and possibilities for implementation of its own programs. Moreover, the SD will strive to consolidate both the results of goals reached by it hand-in-hand with the Polish Left and to strengthen its constitutionally-sanctioned political alliance with PZPR and ZSL. The guiding role of this alliance in the development of numerous social and political circumstances--along with PZPR's guiding role in the construction of socialism in Poland--constitutes a permanent foundation for SD's political course.

3. SD resolutely dissociates itself from those elements and trends which, for motives of personal ambition or because of ideological attitudes alien to SD, have attempted to foment in our ranks a mood contradictory to our political traditions, our obligations as allies, and our political honesty. To all those, regardless of their provenance, who are trying to disseminate a generalized negative opinion about SD to alarm our allies and to slander us before the nation, we must say outright: we detest you. Your intentions and roles are suspect, while our intentions will be borne out by our deeds.

4. In our political activity in the representative bodies and in the government, united by our solidarity as allies, we will jointly foster the rule of the law, compliance with the principles of democratic procedure, while instigating decisions which will be consistent with social and national interests, the interests of the working people, the working class, and other segments of society including those communities we affect.

5. SD's ideology--a set of subjective overriding values--accords a high ranking to the good and power of a socialist Polish state, the guarantor of prosperity for the Polish nation and of the proper conditions for the development of the national economy, culture, science and morality. We protect these values and we will strive to achieve a supremely advantageous level for them. This, we believe, can be effectively reached by implementing socialist democracy, by the rule of the law, social justice, and perhaps most importantly, by well-organized, properly conceived and well-executed work by every person at every workplace. We consider work as a high-ranking value.

6. SD activists, rank and file members and functionaries alike, are profoundly attached to universal democratic traditions and the traditions of their organization. Convinced that the SD is performing an appropriate and highly constructive role in Poland's sociopolitical life and taking a position based on the rationale of the Polish state for which it is struggling, they will permit no disruption of the unity of our ranks, no distortion of the political line, and no attempt to force political activity in extreme cases into the

blind alleys of concepts contradicting social and national concerns and inherently detrimental to their organization. We all can afford to act resolutely with our own, so let nobody count on our reluctance. We will allow no one to fritter away SD's achievements and we will not veer from the course of socialist development of Poland.

Dear Colleagues

Goals are best and most effectively attained and intentions are proved by specific actions--specific missions one pledges to carry out. That is to say, by the entire membership's involvement in the SD's activities in keeping with their statutory obligations. Such specific actions will be the best proof of our political efficiency and value. For this reason, while bearing in mind all I have said in these brief introductory remarks, I wish to offer for discussion those problems and tasks which should be given priority in our activities in the second part of the term. These include:

--Raising political and ideological consciousness on the basis of the Twelfth Congress and postcongress experience.

--Tightening of political and party discipline of all members, along with attempts to eliminate two-facedness and disintegrative actions.

--Increased effectiveness of contacts between parties.

--Intensified effort in PRON activities, since that movement provides a starting base for a new alignment of the relationship involving the authorities, the political parties, and society.

--Implementation of further specific initiatives and measures in the area of our basic interests, including the cooperative movement, disabled persons' cooperatives, craft guilds and chambers, state-operated local industries, educational, scholarly, and cultural (regional associations) communities, justice and health service. New members should be sought for SD in these areas, so as to achieve a major increase in membership.

--Determination of permanent forms for political activities with SD youth membership regarded as the generation whose tour of duty is soon to come.

--Strengthening the role and prestige of SD Central Committee as the organization's highest political authority during intervals between congresses in harmonious cooperation with the Party Court and Audit Commission, the other party authorities which act independently in keeping with the policy line defined and monitored by the Central Committee.

--In the economic area, maximum participation in the restructuring of the economy, while striving for the inclusion, in a highly significant manner, of small manufacture and crafts in the economic structure.

--Culture, education, health and environmental protection should become topics for daily activities rather than holiday slogans, and the problems of intelligentsia should be moved to the forefront of our interests.

--It is necessary to regulate conclusively all of the concerns affecting the financial and organizational base for SD's operation, and to insist that its functionaries demonstrate appropriate attitudes, matching their range of duties and political discipline.

--Further implementation of Twelfth Congress resolutions must proceed on a broad front intersecting all echelons of SD. Their implementation is the responsibility of all of us, depending on the scope and level of political activity of each member's echelon. Trends which centralize the implementation of the resolutions adversely affect SD's entire party life.

--Finally, our consciousness of ideological identity must evolve into a well-defined system of thinking in terms of a distinctly outlined ideological and political doctrine. It is necessary for each SD member to resume attentive study of the Twelfth Congress materials, for he will find in them all component parts for such a doctrine. Meetings and training sessions should be assigned for this purpose.

#### Colleagues

Matters of ideology should become our exceptional concern. SD's ideological problems have long generated anxiety among the membership. It originates in members' doubts whether our ideology is adequately and clearly articulated and understandable to all.

To bring about a uniform understanding of this problem, it is worth recalling certain principles of reasoning, leading to the definition of the notion of ideology.

According to an encyclopedia definition, "ideology is a complex of ideas and views about the world and societal existence, serving for the expression and defense of specific segments of society, and for perpetuation or transformation of existing societal relationships."

Varied views and comments about SD's ideology are circulating among its membership--ranging from extreme ones that deny its existence through indifferent. Meantime, no genuine political party can exist and function without an ideology of its own. The functions of ideology are so essential to political life, that without it, one cannot even talk about organized political action.

The formulation of an ideology should be simple and precise, with no expendable ornate phrasing. It should be compelling in the logic of its construction. It must be based on the scientific way of thinking. It must be modern, i.e., capable to function in the current situation and to offer promise for functioning in the future, rather than providing an interpretation for past events alone.

SD has formulated its principal ideological theses with sufficient clarity in the Twelfth Congress program declaration. These theses must be clearly perceived and interpreted in keeping with specified intellectual directives ensuing from the spirit and tradition of our total theoretical and political achievement, as well as from current political experience.

Fundamental theses of every ideology, in fact, of every theoretical system, can form what is known as doctrine. Are we sufficiently clear in our references to the SD having a doctrine of its own, basing its actions on that doctrine, and developing and complementing it? The doctrine's component parts are certain sets of strictly political or strictly ideological theses. The strictly political set is a compilation of assertions, stipulations and views concerning the operation, organization, and mandate of various political and social institutions, so as to enable them to implement practical assumptions of the ideology and party goals. The political doctrine is a direct source for derivation of a political program and specific directives along with the machinery for exercise of authority. The political doctrine directly mobilizes the membership of every party to participate in their party's life.

Thus, a political doctrine derived from a comprehensive set of ideological theses provides individual members and party echelons with unmediated inspiration and motivation for political activity.

Our political doctrine concerns the socialist political system, party alliance system, the role and tasks of representative bodies, self-governance of such systemic institutions as the Tribunals--Administrative, State, and Constitutional--and the presidency, territorial self-government, occupational self-government, and similar issues.

These are our doctrine's traditional theses which, as facts can demonstrate, have nearly all been put into effect. This is proof of both the realism of our political doctrine and the force of its impact. People first become attracted to the doctrine and political program, then acquaint themselves with the strictly ideological doctrine and, finally, become familiar with the entirety of the ideology.

One of SD's ideological slogans is: patriotism, democracy, progress. Since democracy and patriotism appear to be sufficiently clearly defined, it is necessary to take a more precise position on the term "progress."

Of particular interest is the connection between democracy and progress, understood as a high level of intellectual input in the techniques of computer application, not only in science and management for diagnosis and decisionmaking, but also for engineering societal relations. Some question whether in a period of many-sided, especially scientific and technical progress there is a need for an ideology other than familiarity with the laws of science, organization, production management, and engineering techniques.

Such questions are frequently asked by persons from the technical intelligentsia.



Ideals are always needed by man, regardless of whether he operates or designs a machine, teaches, creates works of art, cures people or performs other services. Moreover, ideals must sprout on a 'deep layer' of moral principles based on national traditions and customs of conduct and on general humanist values.

SD addresses its members with formulations which should stimulate their attitudes and willingness to act to the extent that is both sufficiently perceptible and practical from society's point of view.

Ideology is not merely a 'specified motivational code' but also an element drawing people into particular actions. Which fundamental constituents of ideological attractiveness should recur in every ideology? The following could be listed: first, correlation with human desires and needs, second, representation of social and national interests and identification of avenues for satisfying national ambitions, third, exposition of vistas of a better future and steady development not only to particular segments of society but also to their individual members, fourth, presentation of ways to create a sense of personal and national security, fifth, identification of avenues for expression of personalities and conditions assuring such expression. All of these should apply to the full scale of human existence.

Let us earnestly endeavor in our ideology to develop the above-listed features and to learn how to present them suggestively to society. This is a first-order task delegated to all SD members, our SD intelligentsia and creative circles, above all.

In the course of those 2 years we have covered and experienced a path of joint action under the banners of SD. We have experienced much--having all posted a record of achievement and failure or even error--but our consciences are clear. With a balance sheet of this kind, with hope and determination to do more, do better, and better ourselves, with energy, prudence, and honesty, let us tackle the effort of continued action and let us not be discouraged, divided, or drawn away from it by anyone. Let us give a rebuff to unseemly or insensible actions, let us properly assess petty politicking and parochialism of self-serving arrangements along with the mounting aggressiveness of certain advocates of their own egotistic interests. Let us provide access to social and party positions for young, capable, sensible and morally irreproachable people. Let us render our actions more effective, let us not be self-indulgent but fair to ourselves. Let SD become a sensibly operated and internally cohesive party, capturing society's esteem and prestige.

#### Plenum Resolution

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 22-24 Apr 83 p 4

[Text] I. The SD Central Committee noted with satisfaction the ongoing normalization in the country's political and social life as a result of resolute measures taken by the political parties and the government, along with a number of social organizations, supported by an overwhelming segment of Polish

society. Our country has gone beyond an acute crisis to enter a road of economic reconstruction and restoration of fractured social bonds, while continuing the process of socialist renewal.

Yet there are political forces operating in the country that are striving at hindering normalization processes and national consolidation, proclaiming slogans and programs hostile to the nation's interests.

The SD Central Committee resolutely condemns such attempts at fomenting social unrest and hampering renewal processes, calling on all SD members and echelons to counteract such attempts with decisiveness.

II. The Central Committee declares that in the 2-year period since the Twelfth Congress, while consistently implementing the congress resolutions and SD program, the SD has remained loyal to its political choice made at the inception of People's Poland, centered on sociopolitical activity together with the Polish Left with which the fate and mission of the SD became intermingled. The present-day substance of SD's ideological commitment is expressed by the slogan of SD Twelfth Congress--actualize democracy in the socialist Polish state.

Allied collaboration with PZPR and ZSL constitutes the fullest expression of the implementation of the policy line of SD, a party of radical democrats consistently linking the fate of democracy with the cause of socialism in Poland.

III. The SD Central Committee affirmatively evaluates the attitudes and activities of most SD members during the difficult 2-year period. They were of essential importance for the implementation of SD's political line and for its preservation and consolidation of political and social credibility under the conditions of intense political struggle and recovery from crisis. It should be affirmed, however, that in the course of this struggle trends poised to SD ideals have become evident. The Central Committee condemns all and every attempt at infringing SD's political unity.

IV. The CC affirms that implementation of the Twelfth Congress resolutions and program proceeds successfully, with many of the congress decisions already put into effect and exerting substantial positive influence on the actualization of socialist renewal, consolidation of society, strengthening of the rule of law, and restoration of the economy.

The CC is steadfast in its position that the congress program and resolutions will continue to provide a foundation for the totality of SD activities. All members and all organizational subdivisions of the SD should rally to their implementation.

The CC expresses its recognition to local echelons, SD membership, and expert teams for their contribution to the congress documents. The CC is convinced that their activism will support comprehensive fulfillment of SD's program tasks.

V. The CC positively evaluates reports-elections sessions conducted by SD circles, believing that they helped to strengthen organizers' activities within

the circles, greater cohesion of membership, and increased activism. The sessions revealed existing weaknesses in the operation of certain circles and pointed the way to demonstrated a need for intensified and improved political and organizational activities. The CC directs the CC Presidium and the team for intraparty affairs to analyze the motions submitted in the circles' reports-elections meetings.

VI. The CC attaches particular importance to intensified work within intelligentsia communities, noting with appreciation those communities' positive input in the country's life, contributing to effective solutions of the problems Poland is facing.

The attitudes of a portion of the intelligentsia who refrain from participation in the country's collective existence by opting for internal emigration should be regarded as inconsistent with the interests of the state. As a party whose ranks bring the intelligentsia together, the SD will endeavor to overcome such attitudes by political measures.

VII. The CC sees it as necessary that the socialist state be further strengthened as a guarantor of national prosperity and development of national economy. This should be aided by further improvement in the operation of representative bodies and self-government, especially the people's councils whose activities directly affect satisfaction of citizens' needs. The CC obligates all field echelons to strengthen political leadership in the work of the people's councilmen.

VIII. The CC reaffirms its support for economic reform expressed in its previous sessions. The SD actively participates in the implementation of the reform. The tasks ensuing from it and from the 1983-85 National Socioeconomic Plan, as well as anti-inflation and economy measures, should be undertaken by all SD echelons and entire membership in professional and social work.

IX. The CC attaches major importance to application of the reform to small manufacture sector and the sector's implementation of fulfillment of the 3-year plan under which it was assigned substantial tasks in commodity production and in services. Operation of the sector should be an issue receiving constant support from SD field echelons.

X. The CC affirms the need for further strengthening of the position and authority of PRON. By their actions and attitudes, SD membership will support the ideas of patriotism, democracy, and moral regeneration of the nation. The CC expresses its belief that the First PRON Congress will contribute to consolidation of national accord.

XI. Holding its session on the 38th anniversary of the signing of Poland-USSR treaty on friendship, assistance, and mutual cooperation, the CC with staunch determination reaffirms the inviolability of the principle, expressed in the Twelfth Congress declaration, according to which the alliance, friendship, and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and with all socialist states are the cornerstone of Polish foreign policy, and a guarantee of Poland's independence, sovereignty, and a solid position in the world.

XII. The CC appeals to all members and echelons of SD and the communities in which they are politically active for dignified celebration of this year's Labor Day. By taking part in the ceremonies on that day, let us manifest our alliance and partnership in solidarity with the working class and its party.

Unification of effort of all patriots to benefit socialist and democratic renewal in the country's sociopolitical life is hereby made the keynote of our commemoration of the enactment of the Third of May Constitution which is the SD's holiday.

The CC calls upon the entire membership to suitably celebrate SD Day.

XIII. The CC approves the content of the address delivered by SD CC Chairman E. Kowalczyk and obligates all SD members to implement the injunctions contained therein.

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# FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF PRON REPORTED

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 9 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Jan J. Debek: "PRON - Time For Consolidation. How Should It Be?"]

[Text] This is an important time for PRON - the postcongress time when the wind should hit the sails and move it toward the port of understanding. Such a sailing metaphor, and are we to the point of saying "on stormy Polish waters...?" On one hand, in the Lubusek region, a process is starting of converting the provisional structures of the movement into permanent forms, and on the other hand, time is passing and one cannot concentrate one's thoughts and energies only on organizational matters, no matter how important they are. Whether it is a "provisional" or "permanent" structure, is all the same, but its presence in sociopolitical life must be significant.

We must all learn of this presence. The Provisional Provincial Council [TRW] of PRON in Zielona Gora met recently. Representatives of the basic structures were present. The topic was the voivodship socioeconomic plan for the years 1983-85, and specifically its design. Governor M' Jajczyk, KW Secretary Nieminski, and representatives of the Planning Commission were also present. A discussion was planned. In mind was composing slogans showing that nothing important for society can be developed without the input of representatives of this society. And here the problem begins with the type of input and the form of the presence of social activists.

Above all, no one wants to accept a silent presence, a facade, a pro forma manner, or whatever. What? Listen only to what the governor and his people have to say? No! This is not suitable. Experience--sad experience--teaches how such "social listening" ends, how it ends for a talking administration and a listening society.

And there was a discussion. Of course. Even one of principle. I would not dare to deny the fact, the significance of the matters discussed by the people, whom I have come to know well as resolute spokesmen in the affairs of their community. But... A little more time will pass before these people become not only community spokesmen but spokesmen for all of society. This we all simply must still learn, though painfully.

Because in the discussion there was no talk of this voivodship plan, of accepting or not accepting the methodology of its creation, and there was no dispute on the subject of its main directions. Because perhaps everyone agreed with this. But while agreeing to the plan in its entirety, they announced a great many organizational and community needs. One wanted a school in his town, another one wanted a waste-treatment plant, still another one a pre-school, gas supply, and more. Fine, so be it. But after all it is known that if someone at such a forum speaks about a school or a treatment plant, it is undoubtedly needed. So many things are needed; poverty is seen on all sides.

Then at the meeting I suggested: Good, let's increase the objectives for the plan. But let's indicate what to eliminate, where to place these tasks, what goes where.

But this we are still not able to do. Still with us is the experience of the past 30 years, when the plans grew, and grew, and really never were realized in their original shape, in fact in general, except for the 3-year plan 1947-49, were not realized.

I have written at length on the subject of a two-and-a-half-hour discussion on one plan. But how symptomatic is it for the problem: What is PRON supposed to be? Only an exertive force? How are we to perceive it?

So now when in different cities and gminas [parishes], meetings of people of good will will take place, when from their ranks administrative groups will be developed, now is the time to continue to think about what PRON is supposed to be and how it is supposed to be in the city, gmina, and voivodship.

I want to join this discussion. I want to encourage people who have at heart the rebirth movement, the idea of understanding, the idea of democratization of life and the idea of emerging from the crisis. I want to encourage these people also to speak up on the front pages of GAZETA LUBUSKA. Because I also know that the way something begins is the way it is going to work. If we start too small in scope and too poor in form, that's how it will be for a long time.

I think that this movement already has behind it its first congress, acceptance by the Sejm, the support of the PZPR and of other forces deciding the shape of modern Poland, cannot lose, cannot be stunted, and cannot fail to utilize its historic opportunity.

Not long ago on the front pages of TRYBUNA LUDU, Prof Edward Erazmus from IPPM-L in an article entitled "Problems of Dialogue," speaking about PRON's current postcongress problems wrote: "New dangers are appearing--a lack of willingness to signal, and especially to describe one's own difficulties, subjective organizational and personality barriers, etc., contrasted with a clear tendency toward describing and even evidencing miniscule, small, and medium successes gained in one's own backyard and seen on a scale larger than reality. As PRON develops, mistakes and errors may appear. One cannot take them lightly. Nor hide them. These are not imagined fears. Listening to certain speeches by delegates at the congress, I had the impression that these few

months were a succession of their accomplishments. Adversities and even defeats were omitted. And from here is a straight road to complacency, to satisfaction with successes often having a purely speculative dimension."

Clearly stated? I think so. So the discussion which awaits us must also include and identify what we were not able to do. But why are there not among us those which by right of their social prestige, by right of the importance of their own accomplishments, should be among us? But why to this day in Zielona Gora have people connected with the Polish Catholic-Social Union not joined PRON, people known elsewhere for their thinking and their broad range of activity? But why, in a certain gmina, were youth not allowed to join? Why in another gmina does the leader openly make light of people from the movement? Why is the movement, which is based on understanding, not able here and there in gmina or small town, to come to an understanding with its environment, and why is it isolated there? These questions can go on and on.

This all testifies to the fact that we must constantly remind ourselves of certain principles, fundamental ideas under which people have been joining and should join the movement.

I go all the way when it comes to the main ideas. That is why I feel that much of the blame could be placed on the basic echelons (but not only them) of the PZPR, the party, which according to the constitution, is responsible for the country, for the idea of understanding, the idea of the activation of society, and the idea of rebirth. Party organizations and authorities are also responsible for the movement here and there, for the absence of people who should be present in PRON, just as other signatories are responsible for this. So, it is fitting to repeat to certain secretaries the words of the first secretary of the Central Committee, who at the last CC plenum said:

"The party aims at widening the level of cooperation of all patriotic social forces, at cooperation with them. The point is not that everybody speak with one voice, but that the goal be mutual and that in every voice characterized by civic authority an honest concern for the real good of the country be sounded. This, greatly summarized, is the essence, the philosophy, of understanding."

General Jaruzelski further said: "Every creative thought and sensitive conscience, every pair of hands removed from useful work, from full activity, is a loss. A loss for Poland. Every person gained or regained for her is an asset. This is at the basis of our concept of national consolidation. It has, at the same time, clearly defined bases and uncrossable boundaries. These bases, recognition of the system, including the principles of social ownership, the primacy of workers' interests, and the leading role of the party, are a sanction of our alignment, and of other lasting achievements of Polish defense and foreign policies. The dividing line is between criticism flowing from patriotic motives and fruitless negativism, freedom of convictions and instigation, anarchy and hostility, utilization of civic rights and excessive use in destructive goals. We will spare no effort in gaining people. But not for just any price. The price cannot be the principles of socialism or the primary rights of socialist Poland."



So then the borders are clearly defined. But still between them is enough room for very different people to be able to meet in cooperative activity. The point is to think like this at various party levels, to be able to speak with people with whom very often it is difficult to cooperate, because of their foul tongues and minds... Because PRON cannot after all be only a movement of people who already have a mutual understanding.

And so, first of all, not to hide weaknesses, mistakes, reverses, to bring them out into the daylight; secondly, to look around and see who is still missing from among us, for which reason the movement is poorer; thirdly, to remember that it is the PZPR which is responsible for the quality of the movement from top to bottom, to remember that in the resolution of the Twelfth CC Plenum it was written: "The PZPR actively participates in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth uniting all patriotic forces and the groups of our nation on the basis of the socialist principles of the state and the Polish right of state. The duty of the PZPR members is to take an active role in the activity of the movement for national rebirth according to the party line and program." (If someone has doubts, he should look into the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress...); fourth and finally, one cannot take only the position of a representative of the interests of one or another group but must take a position from which it is apparent that the community can arrange many matters by itself or at least by bringing pressure on those responsible, or to say it differently, credibility is gained not only by waving at the governor, but by telling the community right to its face how things are...

Professor Erazmus, previously mentioned, wrote in TRYBUNA LUDU: "There still exist two approaches to building understanding. The first is based on the conviction that first of all the climate of relations between the authorities and society should be improved. In this area one observes the main or even the only sources of success or of a reduction (inflation, bureaucratism, passivity, an ideological split, etc.). Others are expressed in the conviction that all or much depends on society, on its awareness, diligence, honesty, and above all on how much the energy lying dormant in it comes to light."

If we agree with this analysis then we will say that now the thing is to find a middle way through. As a person for the middle way and honest compromise, I am convinced that these two approaches are not mutually exclusive. Simply said, the authorities have much to do and society has many opportunities and obligations to themselves.

Now when the time for consolidation of the movement occurs, each of us who is concerned with PRON and its far-reaching goals must look around and sort out what in his mind belongs to the authorities and what belongs to the obligations of the community and society, from which this authority comes.

A time for consolidation... Then everything is based on what form and with what content in the documents, PRON, from top to bottom, will be consolidated.

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August 18, 1983